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CORRESPONDENCE

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDMUND BURKE;

BETWEEN THE YEAR 1744,

AND THE PERIOD OF HIS DECEASE, IN 1797.

EDITED BY

CHARLES WILLIAM, EARL FITZWILLIAM,

AND LIEUTENANT-GENERAL

SIR RICHARD BOURKE, K.C.B.

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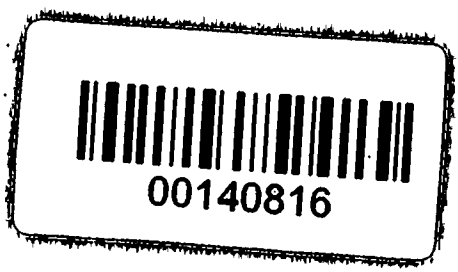

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CORRESPONDENCE,

&c.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

Beconsfield, Sunday, September 9, 1792.

MY DEAREST RICHARD,

The horrid scenes which succeed each other with such dreadful rapidity, hardly leave one ease enough of heart or clearness of head to put down any thing, even of our own affairs, on paper to you with any tolerable coherence. However, amidst these horrors, and after reading the abominable palliation of these horrors in our abominable newspaper, as my morning's treat, I am first to bless God that I have not the greatest of all possible domestic afflictions to add to the effects of those public calamities on our minds. Your mother, I bless God, grows stronger and stronger.

Your uncle proposes to meet us at Bath. Thence

he will go to Weymouth. The Duke of Portland is well of his accident, which had near been fatal. We thank you heartily for your early letter from Dublin, which we received yesterday morning. Thank God for your good passage. We were a little uneasy from the steady prevalence of winds in the westerly quarter, which were besides, at times, very boisterous. I have no doubt that the Herculean faction, whose manœuvres you speak of, will find the grand juries as ready an organ of their politics as they did the House of Commons. The Catholics complain of the oppression of these grand juries. The grand juries declare they wish to continue the power of oppression;—who doubts them? As to you, my dear Richard, be assured, that in private conversations, in an affair of this difficulty and extent, you can do nothing. Reserve and coolness, and unwillingness to begin or continue discourses on this subject, and not too great a quickness to hear, will give the enemy a better opinion of your discretion, and make them respect you the more. Besides, by leaving them to themselves, they will be less heated with controversy, and disposed to think more dispassionately upon the subject. Your mind you will open to your confidential friends in the committee,—there it is necessary; and that restraint which is prudence with enemies, is treachery with friends. What degree of tem-

perate and steady firmness you may find amongst them, I know not. But every thing will depend upon that combination,—that is, the combination of perseverance with coolness, and *great choice* in measures. You cannot too often inculcate to your chief friends, that this affair is of such a nature, that it cannot possibly be the work of a single day, or of a single act. The web has been too long weaving to be unravelled in an instant. No evils, but much good would happen, if it were so unravelled. But that is hardly to be expected without some event which we cannot produce, and would not produce if we could;—such as the American war and its issue, which brought on ideas of Irish independence, and these again the necessity of conciliating the Catholics. This hastened their relief to the point in which it stands by many years. The petition to the king I hold an essential *preliminary;* for any further application to parliament, (whither, to be sure, you must come at last,) until the mind of government and the public in both kingdoms is better prepared than now it is, is to throw away prematurely your last resource. It is a jest to apply to the House of Commons. It would only subject the people to a renewal of the former outrages, and harden the enemy in his oppressive temper and principle. As to the rest, for God's sake, when you see any of the Castle people, op-

pose a little prudent dissimulation to their fraud. There is no danger that you will carry it too far. As to your own friends, you will soon see how they are disposed to the petition, and to a series of *connected* measures. A fire, and away, will never do. But whatever their dispositions may be, do not you press any thing upon them beyond their power of bearing it; and above all, do not form any sort of rash resolution, let their behaviour be what it will. Nothing but temper can keep them or you together, or conduct this long business to a desirable end. Don't think this advice to come from an opinion you are likely to fail in this point. Your temper and self-command, thank God, are much better than mine are, or ever have been. I say nothing of the affairs of France, though they are never a moment absent from my mind. Oh God! They do not suffer any thing else to occupy it. What scenes! And what will be the end of them? All agree that they have not, probably, murdered fewer than seven thousand in this last massacre. As for that admirable and heroic clergy, who had devoted themselves to the fury of their robbers;—that order begins to fly hither in great numbers every day. The Bishop of St. Pol supports them to a miracle by his exertions. A general subscription is become necessary, and I flatter myself it will do. I have put down but twenty; but

Metcalf, who was here, generously put his name down for a hundred; Col. Ironside for fifty; Lord Inchiquin twenty; and our good parsonage, five guineas. So the bishop has got, by his visit here, nearly two hundred. We have already about five hundred and sixty mouths to maintain. It is plain that the abandoned gang in France put their whole trust in the pledge in their hands, and draw out for murder a certain number of victims proportioned to the advances of the Duke of Brunswick; and here, the infernal faction applaud their policy. We are going to set off with the promise of a reasonable April day. God bless and preserve you now and ever!

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

Bath, September 19, 1792.

My Lord,

I am to acknowledge, with my best thanks, the honour of your lordship's letter of the 6th. I ought to be the more sensible of this mark of your polite attention, because, in submitting to your lordship's judgment my weak and crude sentiments upon an important subject, I did not desire or expect an answer. The fact is, (and I am afraid it is but too visible,) I wrote the letter in some haste, and

under some agitation, the effect of the extraordinary events of the 10th of August, which made, (though far from unexpected,) as they and their consequences do still make, no slight impression upon my mind. But, recollecting that there was little in what I then wrote which I had not suggested before in a discussion of the probable effect of the French revolution upon the whole of Europe, written at the close of the year 1791; that this paper had been communicated to your lordship, and that it did not meet your ideas, I resolved not to send my letter. It lay by me until, on some conversation in a meeting, merely accidental, with our common friend Mr. King, I showed to him what I had hastily thrown down, on what I thought a most melancholy state of things. He seemed rather to wish it to be communicated to your lordship, and so I sent it, as I recollect, without even the formality of a direction.

I know very well the determination of this court with regard to the neutrality. But I humbly conceived, that, even on that determination, the declaration had been made sufficiently; and that, under the circumstances, a frequent and affected renewal of the same assurance might be considered by the regicide faction in France as amounting to an encouragement to proceed to the final execution of its designs on their unhappy prisoner, as well as to continue to affront his Majesty, our

sovereign, by never referring to him, but to the English nation, as a body separate and distinct, and, in its intercourse with foreign powers, not fully represented by the crown. This, since the removal of Lord Gower, they have done.

Our object, as your lordship very truly observes, is the same; namely, the prevention of the prevalence of those principles in this country. But it is my misfortune that I have very different ideas on the mode of compassing our common end. I am very ready to allow that I ought to entertain them with the greatest diffidence myself, and that they ought to have the less comparative weight with others, that I am not officially responsible for their effects.

Whatever weight they may have, most certainly the object of them, the French business, is no light or trivial thing, or such as is commonly occurring in the course of political events. At present, the whole political state of Europe hinges upon it. On the continent, there is little doubt every thing will take its future shape and colour from the good or ill success of the Duke of Brunswick. In my opinion, it is the most important crisis that ever existed in the world. I know it is the opinion of his Majesty's ministers, that the new principles may be encouraged, and even triumph over every interior and exterior resistance, and may even overturn other states as they

have that of France, without any sort of danger of their extending in their consequences to this kingdom. My poor opinion is, that these principles, considering their *quality*, and the *means* by which they are supported, cannot possibly be realized in practice in France, without an *absolute certainty*, and that at no remote period, of overturning the whole fabric of the British constitution. On that head, however, I do not mean to trouble your lordship any further. My sense of a very urgent, certainly a most unpleasant duty, may lead me, if I can obtain a hearing, to a full explanation of my sentiments in my place. I do not expect the good fortune of the coincidence of any of the King's ministers. But if I may seem (a thing which I assure you gives me a heartfelt concern) to differ with them, they will be amply indemnified by the support of many, and some of them even of the most brilliant abilities in the House and in the kingdom.

I have the honour, &c.

EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

London, 1792[1].

MY DEAR RICHARD,

You will receive by the hand of a friend, if you have not received it already, a very full letter from me, in addition to the first two which you acknowledge. I am now in town, trying to take my little part in measures which may quiet the unhappy divisions of the country, and enable it to make head against the common enemy of the human race. To do any good, there ought to be a general cessation, as much as may be, of all public and all private animosities; and first, the royal family, in my poor opinion, in this question of the very existence of monarchy (as a basis), ought to be reconciled within itself. The next is, that the opposition should be reconciled to the ministry; and that, for that purpose, its dissonant parts should be brought to some agreement if possible; if not, that the well-intentioned should be separated from

[1] This letter should probably be dated 29th or 30th September, 1792. The letters alluded to in this are mentioned in E. B.'s letter to his son, dated September, 1792; and in his letter of the 1st October, he says he left Bath for London on the 27th September.

the contagion and distraction attendant upon an apparent connexion with those, who, under the false cover of a common party, are as completely separated in views and in opinions, as the most adverse factions ever have been or can be. That there should be a reconciliation between the Catholics and Protestants in Ireland. This last I hold to be the most essential part of the whole plan. I agree with you heartily, that every hour of delay in this reconciliation puts the execution of so proper and necessary a measure at a distance of years. Will the consideration of what they do, call upon their whole stock of philosophy? I am convinced that folly alone cannot wholly ruin an established empire. Cunning must come to its aid. Amongst the poor devices of this sure and natural ally of absurdity, is the scheme you talk of, but which will hardly take place, of bribing the Catholic clergy, by giving to them some share in the establishment of the Church, and letting them into a partnership in the odium attendant upon tithes. You observe very rightly, that this would be the destruction of all religion whatsoever; and when that is destroyed, nothing can be saved, or is worth saving. You say right too, the scheme, taken by itself, is a piece of just and prudent arrangement. I have often recommended it, but for a very different purpose. Many things done from principles of justice, produce in

their secondary consequences excellent effects of policy; and for low tricking purposes, produce the very direct reverse. As a piece of mere substantive ecclesiastical and civil arrangement, if the ecclesiastical estate was put on a more reasonable and durable basis, this would be wise. In future, something of the kind perhaps will be thought necessary. But this is evidently a part of the plan of low cunning, by which they hoped first to divide the laity amongst themselves:—This is, to divide the clergy from the laity. Both will be equally vain in the issue, and mischievous in the attempt. They never will prevail on the laity to take this bribe to the clergy, as a substitute for the essential privileges of subjects refused to them. A clergy known to be creatures of the Castle, and, in a manner, avowedly bribed for the purpose of enslaving their flocks, (the bribe, too, taken out of the bowels of their own poor,) this clergy would lose, and that, in the twinkling of an eye, the little remains of influence which they yet retain. Gentlemen who call themselves Protestants, (I do not well know what that word means, and nobody ever would or could inform me,) are dupes of their own calumnious representations, which serve to mislead them, and irritate those against whom they are made. In order to render the Catholics contemptible, they have ever represented them as men, in all cases incapable of forming any ideas or

opinions, or even wishes of their own; but that their bodies and souls were at the entire disposal of their priests. These miserable creatures, the zealots of the ascendancy, have been fed with this stuff as their nurse's pap, and it is never to be got out of their habit. Their low and senseless malice makes them utterly incapable of forming a right judgment on any thing. Such is their notion. But I, who know the Catholics of Ireland better than these gentlemen who never have conversed with them, and who, of course, are more ignorant of the real state of their own country than that of Japan, know that at no time within my observation have the Catholic clergy had a great deal of influence over the Catholic people. I have never known an instance, (until a few of them were called into action by the manœuvres of the Castle,) that in secular concerns they took any part at all. It is different from the time when the clergy were formed of the first and most accredited nobility of the kingdom, which they continued to be long after the reformation had taken place in England. At present, being stripped of all adventitious aids, and having nothing but the mere credit belonging to them, I think that, though not wholly without influence, (and God forbid they or any clergy should,) they have rather less than any other clergy I know. You and I have talked over this matter. To

those who are acquainted with the prescript form to which the Church of Rome binds its clergy, both as to opinions and the exercise of their functions, (which dogmas, forms, and rules, are just as well known to laity as to priests,) it will easily appear that they have not that range of influence which doctors have, who can teach just what they please, and what they think is most likely, for the time being, to be acceptable and to gain the people. No Roman Catholic priest can make a pleasing discovery to his congregation. He and his congregation are bound by the authority of their whole Church in all times and in all countries, whose general and collective authority infinitely lessens the individual authority of every private pastor, as the strictness of other laws lessens the power of individual magistrates. Whereas, most of us[2], who examine critically, full as little as any of them, and for the greater part think less about it, and are indeed incapable of doing so, we do and must receive our doctrine from our priest, who himself is not bound up to any thing beyond his own ideas; and consequently, the mass of us depend more upon the individual pastor. Whether I am right in the theory or not, this I know, that the fact is as I state it. A Catholic goes to confession. The Church of

[2] *viz.*: us Protestants.

England thinks it a commendable practice, but does not practise it. The Papist thinks it a sacrament, and that he must practise it. Therefore, when he does it, he does it by a table which any man can buy for sixpence; and he is well apprised, that, if he performs the common conditions, which he knows as well as his parish minister (bating some trifling observances more or less), he must have his absolution whether the priest will or not, or he has matter of charge against him. It is so of all the sacraments and other ritual observances. Accordingly, I believe there is no penitent in Ireland who would not laugh his priest to scorn, if, sitting in the confession-box, instead of interrogating him on the seven deadly sins, he was to say a word to him on this topic, or of the election, or any political topic whatsoever. There are too many[3] (a million, or thereabouts,) in Ireland, who could hardly keep the secret. If it were even possible to be otherwise, I would much sooner give credit to any one of them speaking of what he knows, than to a million of others who can dare to affirm what they cannot know at all, and therefore do not scruple to hazard (at least) a lie. As to their sermons and exhortations, they are public, and every one may know what they are.

[3] Meaning, probably, persons in the habit of confessing to the priest.

My inference from the matter is this;—that if the Castle-ascendancy could bribe the whole body of the Roman Catholic clergy (a thing not very likely) into a treacherous conduct towards three millions of their laity,—that not any thing else would result from it than this, that they would never attend on the ministry of one of these corrupt and silly creatures. They would call them the *Castleick* clergy. They would have other priests; and though this might add a little to the confusions of the country and to the public expenses, (the great object next to the job, to which they have reduced the public interests,) they might be sure it would not lessen by one the number of those who contend for justice on the tenor of the good old common-law of England, and the principles of the English constitution, and who bear impatiently, as impatiently they ought to bear, the yoke of late prostitute acts of an innovating parliament, made within the memory of some yet living, in derogation of the wisdom, spirit, virtue, and a long line of honour, of the brave ancestors of all the parties, as well as by an insolent violation of public faith, from one of the parties to the other. Alas! these poor creatures are rendered impotent by their ability, and misled and blinded by their very experience. They are shop-keepers, hucksters, and dealers in retail. They are infinitely expert in the mode

of gaining individuals, and at contriving, with the greatest waste of the human faculties, to obtain the concurrence of others to make a further waste of them. But, for want of ever dealing in the great, they do not know, that, though multitudes may be deluded, they never can be bribed. Their leaders may be bought once,—perhaps twice, but never more. The third time they will not be worth the bribe. But the question is not, as the hucksters of ascendancy think, of dealing with a credulous mob, soon inflamed, soon extinguished. No such thing, as you know as well as I. The igneous fluid has its lodging in a solid mass. There are persons amongst the Catholics of Ireland of deep thought, keen sagacity, and sound understanding; and those not a few. There are successions of them. If one is bought off, twenty will come on. You have read the discourses at the last Dublin meeting. I don't subscribe to every word in them, no more than to what I hear in parliamentary debates, where I approve the main matter; but this I say, that in no parliamentary discussion have I ever heard a topic better handled. I doubt whether, on that subject, man's faculties can go beyond it. Do they think that such men can be cheated by their poor little transparent threads?

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

London, October 1, 1792.

MY DEAREST RICHARD,

It was with true satisfaction that we received at Bath your letter from Cork. God Almighty bless you, and direct you in the course you are to take. In it you will neither be governed by a timidity which would enervate you in the execution of your duty, nor by a rashness and heat which would do still more injury in another way. As to your clients, in my opinion, as long as they keep themselves firm to the solid ground of the British constitution, they are safe for the present, and must be successful; but if they suffer any mistaken theorists to carry them into any thing like the principles adopted in France, they will not only be baffled, but baffled with shame. If they have received the fire of the grand juries with a good countenance, I shall hope every thing will go on well. If they are frightened, you may be quite certain that their enemies will fall upon them in that situation, and show them no mercy. They are to look for the renovation of forged conspiracies, judicial murders, and all the horrors of the period from 1761 to 1766. The great in-

strument of all their oppression is whetting;—I mean the grand juries. It was really three days before I could thoroughly quiet the emotions of indignation, horror, and contempt, which were excited in my mind by that infamous libel, the presentment (or whatever it may be called) of the grand jury of the county of Louth; that is, Mr. Foster's declaration of war. I had begun a letter to Edward Byrne upon it. Whether it will ever be sent, will depend on circumstances. Now as to other matters. First, I am to tell you, with a heart I hope full of gratitude to God, that your mother advances in her recovery as fast as we can expect, and that when I heard from Bath, which I left last Thursday (27th Sept.), no accounts could be better; indeed, her strength, so far as the terrible weather we have had would permit, was getting ground every day, almost since her arrival at that place. You will wish to know what has brought me from it. The Duke of Portland, whom I saw at Bath, is to have a private installation at Bulstrode, to which I am invited, and could not refuse. Since I must make a journey, I thought it best for me to get here, rather before than after the installation, since things in the committee for the refugees were not going on at all as I wished. Their plan is wrong; but that is unalterable. However, we go on, as to the money, very tolerably for the time. The Duke of Portland came forward

very handsomely. Lord Fitzwilliam was the earliest of all; and he has doubled his £100 subscription. The Archbishop of Canterbury has behaved handsomely too. About £4000 is subscribed, of which we have spent but £1600; but the mouths are numerous indeed. All, however, do not call for assistance. Here are seventeen archbishops and bishops, about two thousand clergy, or not much less. In Jersey are five thousand refugees, of which two thousand are priests; yet we do not despair. The ministers will subscribe this week. The newspapers of hell are doing their business diligently, and do all they can to stir up the mob. I don't at all like the spirit of the combined powers. I think I see much, not of mercy, but of De Mercy in it. I am sure he guides all. Calonne is here, but I have not yet seen him. Adieu! my ever dear Richard. May that God whom you serve in simplicity of heart, take care of you always.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

Bath, October 17, 1792.

MY EVER DEAR RICHARD,

Thanks for your second letter from Cork. You are well, I trust in God you are; your mother continues

uniformly to mend. You both are well, and all is well with us, and so far as concerns us, directly and domestically. Every thing else is quite in a different condition. The horizon, which was covered with a thick darkness, has cleared up; but it discovers nothing but the most deplorable scenes. The united military glory of Europe has suffered a stain never to be effaced. The Prussian and Austrian combined forces have fled before a troop of strolling-players, with a buffoon at their head. Savoy, Nice, &c., are occupied without a blow. Whilst the Duke of Brunswick flies out of France, the whole course of the Rhine is ravaged. The empire is left exposed on all parts. The Netherlands are not much better off, internally or externally. Their mountains will not protect the Swiss. A French fleet is preparing which will domineer in the Mediterranean without resistance. In short, vigour and decision, though joined with crime, folly, and madness, have triumphed, as they always will triumph, over puzzled politics and unsteady irresolute councils. We have seen a German prince, and a Prussian commander, distrust their military power, and put their confidence in negotiation. They are cheated in their negotiations, and the folly of their negotiations defeats their arms. They have now changed their whole plan, and are resolved to act on the defensive, by a combination formed of all the discordant interests in

Europe. They revert to their old plan of a congress. De Mercy and Breteuil are at the head of this hopeful scheme. We add our nothing to their inanity. They propose that all Europe shall form a cordon to hedge in the cuckoo. They are to form a defensive alliance to hinder the propagation of French principles! Well, of the two madnesses, the madness of the French rabble is the more noble! An alliance, of which the *casus fœderis* is, sophistic maxims! a league of princes against bad syllogisms! "I am weary of conjectures"—but do not mean to end them Catonically. In truth, I have been, as you will imagine, in a state of anxiety as great as could be, whilst events were depending; but since the affair is desperate, or at least appears so, I feel myself much more easy. I am not, however, without affliction for the state of the poor French refugees. The Duke of Brunswick never consulted them, yet all the blame is thrown upon them. When he resolved to evacuate France, he ordered them into Luxembourg, and then removed, or rather drove, them into Limbourg, not as quarters, but as a place where they might have refuge. A hundred to one but they are attacked there. If I were to venture a speculation on all this, some stipulation is made with Dumourier for the personal security of the king of France, so far as such a man, in such a government, can make an engagement. That then

the French, having honourably cleared their country, will offer peace, which will be accepted. Their republic will be recognized, and an alliance made to prevent the contagion of opinions. The baseness and folly of this scheme do not make it in the least improbable. I fear much that the king of Sardinia's dominions in Italy are agitated by some internal troubles.

The prince of Condé, when he wrote last to some of his friends in England, considered Dumourier's army as prisoners. The Duke of Brunswick's military manœuvres are allowed to be judicious, and even masterly; and he had certainly the French completely in his power, when he entered into the negotiation. There are those here who know his serene highness very well. They say he is a soldier by character, nature, and education, but that he is an intriguer by taste. He values himself on his talents in that way; in which, however, he will be led by De Mercy as he has been duped by Dumourier, who is a veteran intriguer; having been employed by the inner cabinet of Louis the Fifteenth, as a spy on Broglio in the war of Germany, and a secret negotiator in the courts there. There is something above us in all this. You are in Ireland, and you can get the O'Brien motto translated:—"*Laire laidir en oughter.*" Or I will do it;—"*The bloody hand on high.*"

I liked what I was saying to Byrne. Of course I should only send it through you. But this French business puts every thing by. Lord Inchiquin, likewise, found work enough for me. He is perfectly discontented, and throws all blame on me. To this add, that Shore[4] goes out governor-general. You know how I represented him at the bar of the House of Lords. I protested against his appointment at the India House. I could not do otherwise, without disgracing the prosecution. We must do right, and do it simply and rigorously, and trust to Providence for the rest. I remonstrated to Dundas; I could not see him in London, so wrote to him. He is now in Scotland.

I am glad to find I coincided in opinion with you. To petition the king is as right, and that word for word, as you conceive it, as to petition parliament in its present temper would be foolish. This might be declared in some firm, modest, and temperate mode, in the style of lamentation. What you say of the friendly Protestants, is of more importance than all the rest; both, in my opinion, for the credit of their body, as for the advantage of your clients. I long much to talk to you on this subject; but it is more important that you should be where you are. Is it possible that the bar could be got to declare any thing useful in any tolerable numbers? Your adver-

[4] Afterwards Lord Teignmouth.

saries are very busy every where, and have filled the minds of the people with the idea of a rebellion of the Roman Catholics ready to break out. You cannot conceive the activity of these low wretches, nor their success. Adieu! my ever dear son. I am called away. Your mother, uncle, and Mary embrace you. Mrs. Nugent has just left us, and is perfectly well. I see Dr. Moylan every day, and an excellent man he is.

Your affectionate father,

EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

November 2, 1792.

MY VERY DEAR SON,

I shall say little to you on the subject which now fills Europe with consternation and perplexity, because it is not easy to think on it with patience, to speak on it with temper, or to form any sort of clear and precise judgment on the true causes of an event which has nothing to match it, or in the least to resemble it, in history. There is certainly treachery, or a degree of madness and folly, that is wholly without example. My heart bleeds for the poor emigrants, whose case is truly deplorable, and now without hope, at least, according to all

appearances. Let us turn our thoughts to another part of this business, which is somewhat more cheering. The subscription for the French clergy goes on, at least as well as could be expected. Hitherto, it has not in the least languished, and Walker King, who is the soul of it, thinks it will rise to £20,000 before Christmas. However, when I consider the numbers to be maintained, which by that time we must reckon, here and in Jersey, to amount at least to two thousand, I confess I am frightened about the event. For, cool upon that subject the public must at last, as government gives it neither aid, nor even countenance. The horrors of the 2nd of September excited the public compassion, and roused its indignation. Government might have taken advantage, most politically as well as charitably, of that temper, and have exalted the temper of the public to what height it pleased upon that subject, and alienated the people for ever from the French principles and partizans. They took rather the contrary course. On full consideration of the matter, I think their re-entry into France as desperate; and that, therefore, whilst we have £10,000 in hand more than we have an immediate demand for, we ought to think of making some permanent establishment for them. The £10,000, if we can avoid breaking in upon it, would do this perfectly. I see no place for them

but America, nor any better place in America than Maryland; already much of a Catholic colony, and where that church already has a good estate. There they might make two or three convents, and live according to some rule, cultivating the land with their own hands, and the help of a few slaves, and in a little time they would be at their ease. I ventured to tell one of them that you would make them a grant of a sufficient quantity of your land in the Isle of St. John's. This would be good both for them and you. On recollection, the place is too cold and too poor for them. When I say I proposed it to one of *them*, I am incorrect. I only spoke of it as a speculation to Dr. Moylan. But I must confess, if they like it, I should be glad you had them, for though they are a *populus virorum*, and must soon wear out, yet they would for some time be sufficiently recruited, and their settlement would draw many others to them, as such monasteries have always done, and must do. Now, since I talk of St. John's, do not forget it whilst you are in Ireland.

The last we received from you was from Killarney. I am glad you like the water and mountains, though the owner was as shabby as they are noble. He is resolved to preserve a perfect consistency in his folly and meanness. Poor Moylan, who is his friend, I saw was afraid to ask one question about your reception. You cannot think how

Bishop Moylan is liked here. Mary French had a letter from Mrs. Carey, in which she tells me you have made up the vexatious and ridiculous quarrel amongst my contemporary old women. You have done well and benevolently, and like yourself. You have had terrible weather for the Blackwater. God send you have not got cold. The fords must have been impassable in those floods. I trust in God this will find you safe and well in Dublin. Here lies the stress of your business. If they hold, in their conduct, to the strain and tenor of the Waterford and Tipperary papers, and to those of Galway and Louth, better they cannot do. I hope that they are not so weak as to suffer themselves to imagine that you or I are playing any politic game with regard to them. We have no connexion of interest with either ministry or opposition here; and I think you have shown that you do not mean to pay court to the ministry in Ireland at their expense. I am sure I do not pretend to know Ireland as well as they; but I think I know England as well as most people, or I have lived long to little purpose. The sentiments of the nation must finally decide the dispute between them and the jobbing ascendancy. If they are not sensible of it, their enemies are; and there is no degree of pains which they do not take to prejudice people here against them. Now I am clear, that every thing they do which has a ten-

dency to show in them any leaning to the French principles, must and does alienate the people here from them; which, give me leave to assure them, must do mischief to them and their cause. You see that Foster, in the Louth resolutions, (upon the subject upon which I meant to write,) endeavours to alarm government with an idea that they mean a separation from England. He is well aware that nothing could hurt them more; and the advice, full of fidelity and cordiality, which I give them, with a view to them and their interest solely, is, that they will keep every act and word which can be construed to imply that intention at the utmost distance. The papers of the Society of United Irishmen are rational, manly, and proper, in every other respect but this. These gentlemen, so right in every thing else, have in this respect obtained very strange information. They think that the conduct of the Castle is the result of directions from hence, and that here they do nothing but plot some mischief against Ireland. Alas! I wish they could be got seriously, and with a ruling spirit, to think of it at all. But things move in the reverse order from what they imagine. They think that ministers here instruct the Castle, and that the Castle sets the jobbing ascendancy in motion; whereas, it is now wholly, and has, ever since I remember been, for the greater part, the direct contrary. The

junto in Ireland entirely governs the Castle; the Castle, by its representations of the country, governs the ministers here. So that the whole evil has always originated, and does still originate, amongst ourselves. I could enter further into this; but if they do not take my word for it, I am sorry for it. Many arguments would only weaken what I take to be an evident truth. They ought to petition the king; not so much for the sake of the petition itself, though it is no contemptible object, as for the impression it will make here.

I have, since I wrote the above, had your letter. I am glad you found yourself pleased with the country which has given me my first and my most lasting impressions of a country life. Alas! all my early friends there are dead, and have left very few traces behind them. Your mother, I bless God for it, has got great benefit from these waters. Every blessing attend you.

I am ever, my dear Richard,

Your affectionate father,

EDM. BURKE.

Ought I to write to any one in Cork, to thank them for their civilities to you? Do you call on Hutchinson, and thank him for us both. I am sure you were not the worse off at Cork for him.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

Devizes, November 6, 1792.

MY DEAREST RICHARD,

I directed a letter to you at Dublin, a few days before our leaving Bath. I send this to the same place, because I take it for granted that both will find you there: I trust in God, the better for your tour of amusement to the South. We did not leave Bath this day till about two o'clock, having waited in vain for the coming in of the London post. The night was so pitchy and black, and the roads so heavy, that the mail passed us several hours after its time. The result of our expedition is this:—As to the effect of the waters, they have agreed with your mother perfectly well. I think her general health seems as good as ever it was. So far, we have succeeded to our wishes. On the whole, I bless God for it, we have no reason to repent of our expedition; for, as I told you, I have not of a long time seen her better.

I say nothing of foreign affairs. The king of Prussia's treason is without parallel in history. As I can do nothing to apply any remedy to its effects, *which will be fatal to this age and to a long posterity*, I turn my thoughts from it; and wish you to divert yours to objects in which your

anxiety may be of some use, or, at least, to which your duty calls you more particularly. I wish your people seriously to turn their thoughts to this country, and to aim at making their impression here. Their enemies leave nothing untried to pre-occupy that ground, which, in my opinion, ought to teach them where they are to direct their efforts. The reports which they circulate concerning large importations of arms by the Catholics, and even of their being out in these arms, publicly exercising and parading, grow more rife than ever. I met some of the circulators. I took the course which I did in the year 1769; which was, to pay a guinea for every stand of serviceable soldierly arms to be found in the province of Munster, in the hands of Catholics, if he would pay me five hundred if he could not find ten. A wager so advantageous to him he would not take up. If such a general armament had taken place, he could not fail to find arms enough to entitle him to a good deal of money; and if any part of the county can be considered as more eminently Catholic than another, or to have more opportunities of a supply from abroad, it is that province. But the fact is, the runners, which are the greater part of the Irish who come hither, do not believe themselves. If they thought their countrymen would, or could, effectually arm themselves against their oppressions, it is not this

mode of whispering they would use. The oppressions themselves would cease from a prudent fear, that the consequences of exasperating the people would be of such a serious nature, as to outweigh any advantage they derive from trampling upon those whom it is their duty to protect and cherish. I find that the affairs in the county of Louth are used to blow this fire into a more consuming flame. There, it seems, they have been exasperating the people to some shocking disorders. Lord Sheffield told me at Bath, that he had received a letter from a gentleman of considerable honour and veracity there, who informed him that a person of the name of Morgan had been murdered for his activity in dispersing rebellious assemblies of armed men, &c. I did not see the letter or the gentleman's name; but so the matter was to him reported; and he ended with magnifying the spirit and patriotism of Mr. Foster, who had apprehended and put into jail fourteen, I think, of the persons concerned in this assassination. The primate of Ireland[5] was present. I had before two conversations with him on this subject. He told me that every person who came from Ireland had informed him that the Catholics were every where arming and preparing for rebellion. I talked a great deal to him with the freedom I have long used to him on this and

[5] Lord Rokeby.

on other subjects; sometimes a little warmly, sometimes ludicrously; sometimes very gravely and temperately; stating to him my opinion upon the strange policy pursued by the heads of the Irish factions on this subject:—That if it were true that the body of the people were preparing for rebellion, it greatly behoved government to keep its temper, and not exasperate that body by rash and precipitate declarations of hostility, and offensive speeches in any public character. But if they had no thoughts of such a rebellion, as I was persuaded, nay, was very certain, they had not, it was for every body seriously to reflect on the consequences of making, in so grave a matter, so false and calumnious a charge. In our two former conversations, though full of apparent pique and prejudice, he generally ended, I thought, much more reasonably than he had begun. But on this Louth business (he has, as well as Lord Sheffield, an estate in that county,) he grew ten times more exasperated than ever, and we parted in some mutual ill-humour. I find that Mr. Bellingham, a gentleman of that county, has turned brewer, and that, in resentment of his signing the extraordinary presentment of the grand jury of the county of Louth, the populace had destroyed his horses, drays, and vessels. I could not help observing, that if persons of condition find it for their own interest (or, what it is

more common in Ireland to attribute all such undertakings to, the interest of the public,) to become tradesmen, it would become them not to exasperate their customers, especially when they dealt in a commodity, the use of which is not particularly calculated for calming the passions, and preserving people in the undisturbed use of their reason. At this the primate laughed, and we grew into good humour for a while. This was when we were alone in our second conference, but the whole of the third was ill-humoured. Quære:—Is it not a matter of some consideration, and what gives rise to unpleasant presumptions, that the *only* county in Ireland in which at present there is any disturbance, should be in that in which the Speaker resides, and chooses (what few Speakers have chosen to do) to execute the office of an active magistrate, in a county not thirty miles from the capital, the best cultivated, and hitherto thought the most orderly and civilized part of the whole kingdom? Whence is this? I think your committee, not giving the smallest countenance to this, or any disorder whatsoever, ought, however, to have these matters put in a proper light.

I have only now to tell you, that on the fullest view of the temper of the present job-ascendancy, and their policy of representing the country to be disposed to rebellion, in order to add to their

jobs, for the merit of keeping it under, I adhere to the opinion I gave in my last, that the Catholics ought by no means to appear before parliament until they receive some satisfactory assurance of a probability of success. It will only add to their humiliation, and their enemies will be more and more sharpened against them by frequent conflicts. Either they will lie down tamely, under a new rejection, attended with new indignities, which will bring them into contempt, or some amongst them will show their resentment in feeble, desultory, and irregular modes, which will add to their sufferings, and give their enemies new advantages over them. Every thing which convinces one that, in the present state of things, and the present temper of the times, it would be indiscreet to renew their petition to parliament, convinces me of the necessity of petitioning the king. It is a measure, for the effect of which, I think, as far as my speculation goes, I can answer,—I do not mean the immediate effect. But let that measure be steadily pursued, and followed with sobriety, firmness, and perseverance, and it *cannot* fail. What signifies their sputtering out a few hasty and undigested invectives against an armed and systematic tyranny? If they are not capable of a quiet, determined, manly sullenness, and cannot feel a resentment far above the loquacity of womanish invective or lamentation, at the

nefarious and unparalleled insults of last session, and at all the slanderous tales propagated ever since, they are never likely to obtain the object they seek;—the first object which rational men ever had, or ever can have in view. The grand juries (the thirty-two mouths of the Castle) have aimed a deadly blow. It cannot now be returned. It must be borne; but borne as by men who are unworthy to suffer such wrongs. Let them at least not court insults, by again kissing the feet of the insulting enemies of their nation. Let them use a still, discontented, passive obedience. In that mode, I assure them, there is ten thousand times more force than in a giddy unsupported resistance. I am charmed with the resolutions of the Protestant freeholders of Cork; nothing can be better. The primate, however, is told that it has been signed but by five persons. Is this so? However, five speaking reason, are better than ten raving absurdly. I like much the Waterford, Tipperary, Galway, and Louth papers. I have seen no others. God bless you!

I write this second sheet at Reading (7th Nov.). Your mother is very well. We might have got home, but the evenings are dark, and we had better have the full advantage of day-light. Arrived at Beconsfield the 8th. I left it the 9th. This is the 10th. I shall return, in all likelihood, on Monday. I have read the Dublin proceedings,

which, except the references to the continental madnesses, I think perfectly right. I hear that the Bellingham story is the contrary to truth, and happened in the very reverse manner.

Duke Street, Saturday.

RICHARD BURKE, JUNIOR, ESQ., TO WILLIAM SMITH [6], ESQ.

November 25, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

You must give me leave to say, that the very acceptable present you are so good as to make me, is accompanied with suppositions which I can by no means admit, and which really do me great injustice. They suppose me deficient in qualities to which your partiality to my father gives me a sort of presumptive claim, if not in the general opinion of the world, at least as against yourself; I mean sensibility and taste. The desire to which you are so good as to refer, (and which I trust still continues,) for an acquaintance with me, neither is, nor was, indifferent to me; although I have not yet availed myself of it so fully as, I hope, you will permit me to do in future. Any

[6] An Irish lawyer of eminence, appointed a baron of the Exchequer in 1801. He died in 1836. His son is now (1844) Attorney General in Ireland.

apparent neglect you *must*, (to use a verb auxiliary, much criticised of late,) and, because justice requires it, I am sure you *will*, attribute solely to the innumerable occupations with which I was not so much surrounded as overwhelmed during the whole of last winter. I was plunged over head and ears in a troubled sea of politics, and struggled with labours and solicitations of every kind. *Multis circum latrantibus undis.* In this situation, some allowance may be made for substantial errors (if such I have committed), but surely it will extenuate a deficiency in the minute, however necessary, observances, by which private friendship is kept up or established.

The high opinion I entertain and always express of your first work, I am happy to find has not been mis-stated, I am sure it cannot be exaggerated, to you. The one you now send me I had not happened to see, as it appeared in parts; but when I heard it was yours, I instantly bought it. There is no probability that I should have thrown it aside, among the lumber of common pamphlets, as you are pleased to say. I cannot allow *that*, for the 'credit' of my own critical discernment, or my knowledge of an art in which I am myself a dabbler. I do not say it because I am addressing myself to you, but because it is my real opinion; it is impossible not to discover in the "Patriot" an exquisite skill in writing, matured in

very great perfection. It shows throughout great depth of thinking, much reading and reflection, no common observation of human life, powerful discrimination, and powerful illustration. I do not presume to enter into any detailed criticism; you will, however, permit me to mention the allegorical dream, which I read with particular satisfaction. It has all the softness, feeling, and richness of Addison's allegories, and is a great deal more profound. The ascendancy of the good genius (under whose guidance you are so good as to put yourself) over the discourse of the adverse spirit is, I think, the happiest invention I ever saw, and the most refined compliment. Nothing can be higher wrought than the description of imposture; and all your allusions to my father's name and writings are in the highest degree flattering, and deserve my warmest acknowledgments. If I was to venture to find any fault at all, it would be, that the different topics you are obliged to touch, cannot, in a periodical work, allow themselves a scope and range equal to the compass of the mind which handles them; insomuch, that, if you have not already cast your thoughts into this form, I should have some doubts whether it is the best suited for matter such as yours. These periodical works are but a sort of variety in composition. It is partly exhausted by good writers, and even by the second best. It has lost part of

its novelty, and is grown trite and hackneyed by the vulgar use of temporary politics. Besides, as I said, it is too contracted a field. I have taken the liberty of throwing out this for the consideration of your better judgment; not that I think any form or mode can affect the intrinsic merit of a good performance;—I only mention it as the less advantageous mode.

I am happy in coinciding with you in most, or indeed all, of your general opinions, though I cannot pretend to do so in some that regard the present controversy; although, in the main, I flatter myself we do not much differ. If any thing of mine which appears in public should disagree with your sentiments, I must request your favourable interpretation of my motives and conduct. I am conscious that the part I take must appear ambiguous, and perhaps be so, as is the nature of all arduous duties. The cause indeed is clear, but it has been studiously complicated; as you know, no litigated cause long remains on its original ground. The political relations of men are not less fluctuating. I came into this country to maintain the cause of its established government in Church and State; and have uniformly done so, according to my rooted conviction of their essential interest. I am treated with the utmost hostility by those who call themselves the government. The Church

stands aloof and suspects me. In this country every thing is singular and out of its place. Those who err most grossly and violently on the side of speculation, are right in point of practice; and those who would be thought to fight the battles of the constitution in theory, are enemies to the application of its most acknowledged principles. Those who differ in practice are the first to be contended with. As I have always thought that the only remedy against the rage of untried speculation was in the ancient principles of our mixed constitution, those who the most potently and vigorously oppose the extension and communication of them, are, in my opinion, the most dangerous enemies. Upon that principle, as far as my little sphere extends, I shall act, and that pretty decisively, because I think the time requires it. The great disorder of the country seems to me to consist in the complication of its politics; and I observe a very dangerous fluctuation and unsteadiness in the opinions and conduct of most of its public men. In these circumstances, it seems to me to be every man's duty to give a determination to his own principles and conduct, which if every man does, some order will soon arise out of the present chaos. For one, I mean to do so; which induces me the rather to desire your favourable interpretation, if I cannot obtain your active co-operation.

I have troubled you with a long letter. My intention is to show you, though perhaps to your cost, that I am not adverse to every kind of correspondence with you. I shall be always happy to show you that I do not neglect or forget, and am by no means insensible to the attentions of one of my father's earliest and most able propugnators.

Believe me to be, dear sir,
With great esteem,
Your most obedient humble servant,
RICHARD BURKE.

I propose to leave this for London on Tuesday, and shall be happy to take your commands or those of your father.

WILLIAM SMITH, ESQ., TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN. ESQ.

November 26, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

I have read your letter with much pleasure and even pride; from which latter, to adopt an old sentiment, excessive vanity alone could save me. The length of your letter, and the detail in which you do me the honour to go, are particularly flattering. A general compliment, contained in

half-a-dozen civil lines, costs one little trouble in the paying; and common policy, if not mere politeness, will induce him to bestow it. But when a man writes a long letter, let his motive be what it may, he seems at least to be in earnest; and when he wanders from the track of compliment into more serious matters, and into communications which regard himself, he shows either such a sincere good opinion of his correspondent, as, if the writer be a man as respectable as you are, will give him reasonable grounds for pride; or such skill in the management of human vanity as cannot be expected to fail of its effect. Perhaps my vanity is deceiving me, when I think that your obliging letter is a manifestation of the first; in which case I cannot regret that jealousy on my part, however ill-founded, which produced so agreeable a consequence as your answer to my note.

Suffer me, sir, to risk the imputation of folly by suggesting, that, as I am no partisan, but would in my subordinate sphere willingly support what I saw to be right, I should be very glad to be assisted in my view of a subject which, if it be not complicated, at least is dark, by the illustration which, both from talents and situation, you are so well qualified to give it.

As any support which I seek to give to the constitution is really disinterested,—(how can it

be deemed other from a totally obscure and neglected man, who by pulling down rank would only level to himself, and whose vanity would be apt to suggest the probability of his rising into notice in the general confusion?)—so any opposition which I should give to the Roman Catholics might be called *something more* than disinterestedness, for some of my near connexions lie amongst persons of that religion.

I will not bestow more words upon what is not meant as an application, but a hint to you, which you are at liberty to pass wholly unnoticed, and which, though I give it from fair and candid, though perhaps absurd motives, yet I should have forborne, if it were not for some passages in your letter which perhaps I fondly misinterpreted.

I have sometimes heard you spoken of in the manner in which partisans talk of the organ of a hostile party. I have also heard you supported by foes to the constitution; but I have ever thought and said, that though the nature of the business in which you were engaged was not well known to me, I drew conclusions in its favour (I mean no compliment) from your being conspicuous in it. Much less time, I believe, is necessary towards forming a judgment of the talents than of the moral character of a man. I had fixed an opinion of yours, and when I saw these underrated, was more ready to believe that your virtues were

underrated also. Nay, the support of factious men was not able to lessen my good opinion of you.

If I had thought more highly than I do of my own powers, I should possibly have preferred another form to that of detached essays. I shall remember your sentiments, though perhaps I am too far in, to change my mode of writing for the present. The next paper was to have treated of the right of petition; how far it might be exercised by delegates, &c. Now you will easily see why I should have wished for some information from you before I published such a discussion. I am sure I have candour enough to wish not to thwart, by any writing of mine, any proper views of yours, or constitutional wishes of my Roman Catholic countrymen; and I think I have as much discernment as would enable me to see through such political and party reasonings, as you (very consistently with punctilious honour) might use to support opinions which contradicted mine.

I have taken up too much of your time, and, considering what I am writing upon, if I do not stop abruptly, I don't see when I should stop at all.

I hope to-morrow is not the Tuesday on which you sail. However, I shall at all events hope for your speedy return, and shall at all times endeavour to cultivate your acquaintance. I beg my

respects to Mr. and Mrs. Burke, when you shall see them; and subscribe myself very sincerely,

Dear sir,

With respect and esteem,

Your obedient servant,

WM. SMITH.

MEMORIAL TO MR. SECRETARY DUNDAS, BY RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

December 18, 1792.

IT is probable, that from the steps hitherto pursued by his Majesty's ministers in Great Britain, as well as from the extreme urgency of the case, that the propriety of laying an embargo upon the export of provisions from Ireland will again come under deliberation.

In this circumstance some considerations are submitted to the wisdom of his Majesty's principal advisers.

The measure of the embargo has already been brought forward and lost, in an extraordinary and full meeting of the privy council of Ireland; to which, as in some greater exigency, persons were called not in the immediate service of the crown.

From this event some conclusions are deducible, well worthy of mature consideration.

First, that the government of Ireland had not a sufficient opinion of its own inherent strength to hazard a measure necessary to the common defence of the two kingdoms (and perhaps recommended by the British government) on its sole authority, without calling in the aid of a pretty general (I believe a general) summons of the privy-council.

Secondly, that in this council, so called, the Lord-Lieutenant, notwithstanding the example already set in England, (which in most cases is a law paramount in Ireland,) and although such meetings are usually found very tractable, because persons in declared opposition stay away, and those who attend know that the summons is little more than a compliment, and in order to give a sanction to a matter in substance determined, rather than to be really consulted;—yet, nevertheless, the Lord-Lieutenant was not able to carry his measure.

The failure of this measure is, without doubt, justly to be attributed to the imbecility of the Irish government (which imagination cannot overrate); and it is, indeed, in part, but not entirely, referable to that melancholy and very fruitful source of evils.

It, however, arises also from a cause which lies deep in the frame and texture of Irish affairs. It is this, the *independent* country gentlemen (as the government is pleased to denominate those to whom it has *pretended* to defer in the Catholic affairs) have become very largely, and almost universally, speculators in the *corn* trade. They have built very large mills at a great expense, and many of them upon borrowed capitals; and this branch of trade having been, at the beginning, very lucrative, it has been carried (as is usual in such cases) much beyond its bearing, and is now only supported by the extraordinary *foreign* demand. A sudden interruption of the exportation by an embargo, (however necessary to prevent an internal famine, and intercept the supply of a nation with whom we are at war,) would possibly cause the bankruptcy of several of the landed gentlemen. It is therefore strenuously opposed by them.

Another derivative circumstance contributes also to the difficulty and hazard of the measure. The immense exportations of corn (a trade forced in Ireland by every species of experiment, upon that most critical of all the *materia politica*,) have caused a proportionable increase of rents, which rents were *already* above the real value of the lands.

It is to be observed, that the farmers of Ireland (it may be said without much exaggeration,) have *no* capitals.

The consequence is, that, whereas in England, and other well-governed countries, where rents are not excessive, the farmer is able to stand almost any possible vicissitude of the market, and is still able to pay his rent; in Ireland, the sudden check in the sale, which an embargo must cause, would directly act upon the rents themselves, and for this reason,—because the farmers have nothing, and because those rents are screwed up to the pitch of the foreign demand; and the whole claim of intermediate profits is drawn so tight, that the gentleman of Ireland is in danger of becoming doubly bankrupt; first, from the failure of his corn speculation, and next, by the diminution of his rents.

From the same cause, the embargo *may* very deeply, and certainly more or less *will*, affect the culture of the land itself.

Such, I beg leave to observe, is one of the obvious and terrible results of the corn system, which constitutes the boasted prosperity of Ireland, and on which is built the fame of Mr. Speaker of the Irish House.

With regard to these Irish corn laws, other occupations have prevented me from examining

them critically; but I see of them and their effects, if it was only in the obstruction they give to the necessary measures of the national defence, enough to be sure that they will be found (like every other measure of the Irish government for many a year) one unqualified system of private jobbing, public imposition, and desperate excitement.

These are the observations which occur on Lord Westmoreland's failure in this measure. Now, as to the measure itself; it by no means follows that it cannot be carried, and carried safely, because Lord Westmoreland and Mr. Hobart cannot carry it at all, or not without ruin. But it is necessary to advert to the difficulties, and also to the dangers, that the first may be overcome, and the latter averted.

These are in part touched upon (but no more) in what precedes. I do not scruple to aver, that, *rebus sic stantibus*, an embargo upon corn and salt provisions cannot be effected without a very manifest probability of a total and immediate subversion of the whole kingdom of Ireland, and, therefore, *rebus sic stantibus*, it cannot be attempted without the greatest possible danger.

The reason is this:—All vigorous measures of government, in their nature, excite discontents; because they necessarily imply the sacrifice and destruction of some individual interest or other;

like the demolition of private houses for the defence of a town, or the forage and trampling of green corn by an army in the field.

The corn-trade and the provision-trade are two of the three staple trades of Ireland.

Wherefore, every individual embarked in the various branches of these two national trades, (in the latter of which are comprehended the first landed proprietors and greatest parliamentary interests,) will more or less be affected, and therefore discontented, by the operation of an embargo. Now, it is possible that a government, deeply and universally rooted in the affections of the people, and strong in its own conscious power and wisdom, may be warranted in trusting to the predominance of public spirit over the discontent arising from particular losses; as we have often seen, and as in the like case we should see, the people of Great Britain (but as, *rebus sic stantibus*, we should not see those of Ireland) cheerfully submit to the ravage of half the land to oppose the progress of a foreign enemy. In such measure, however, a government must have a sure broad foundation to stand upon. But when three-fourths of the people, at least, are in a state of high, irritated, and insulted dissatisfaction, it is morally impossible that a government should stand the additional ill-will of two great mercantile interests out of three; to say nothing of the revulsion, through the whole

circulation of such a delicate system (involving so many collateral considerations) as that of the food of man; to say nothing also of the probable bankruptcy of many of the landed gentlemen, the sudden fall of rents, and the general shock which agriculture itself may consequently receive.

As I said, the Irish ministers have sacrificed every thing to the landed or Protestant interest (as they pretend); but in reality they have involved that interest in the corrupt schemes which they themselves have undertaken, in violation of their trust to the crown, and to the English government. (This proposition I have pledged myself publicly to prove.) So that now to irritate this interest, and to shake it to the very foundation by the embargo, when all the rest of the nation is dissatisfied, not only as far as the Catholics are concerned, but from the long accumulation of various abuses and vices in the government; this, I say, would be only a dreadful aggravation of the distemper, by the infusion of a discontented landed, and a discontented mercantile interest, into that congregated mass of discontents and confusions, polemic and civil, popular and ministerial, theoretical and practical, which are so furiously fermenting in the whole of that kingdom, and in every part of it.

It must, therefore, be laid down as a first and indispensable principle, that the government (like

all entities, physical and moral,) must have a power to act with; and that, before it proceeds to any act of government, great or small, it must secure to itself a substratum of popular opinion; and that it must get (at whatever price) the body of the people to be ready to stand by them; or it is less than no government at all.

In the present circumstances, because the Catholics *are* the body of the people, and for that reason alone, their reconciliation is necessary for the existence, or rather for the resurrection, of his Majesty's government of Ireland at any price.

What that price is, (which is a price, not of money, not of one or two specific measures, but of a judicious and systematic expenditure of wise councils,) and how that price is to be laid out, so as to ensure the purchase, and not to cause the ruin of the purchaser, these things depend on a detailed knowledge of the *moral* circumstances of Ireland, the temper of its people, and of the political actors on that stage. These are points which, undoubtedly, other men possess more than the writer of this memorial. He, however, *may* have ideas on the subject which other men have not, and those ideas *may* be the right ones. Such as they are, he will produce them when, and when only, he is called upon to do so, and when he sees a probability of their having an authoritative support.

As to the present Lord-Lieutenant and secretary, it is somewhat singular that, in the total failure of all their measures, and disappointment of all their expectations, in the overwhelming embarrasments which thicken and grow upon them every hour, their minds should never misgive them, that they should never begin to doubt their own wisdom and ability, to demand a successor, or in their necessity, to call in the councils and authority of a British government. Instead of this, as far as I can learn, they yet labour, by every art and contrivance, to keep the whole deliberation on the affairs of Ireland within their own narrow circle; and, obstinate in their presumption, they stagger on, precipitate and blind, entangled in their own frauds, stunned with their own plunges, disgracing themselves, and destroying his Majesty's government.

I am unwilling to assert that the situation of affairs in Ireland is yet quite desperate; at least it was not so when I left Ireland; but the complication of its disorders must be infinitely aggravated by the two plunges which the government has made since my departure.

The one is the proclamation against armed associations: the other, the scheme of a militia.

I do not mean at present to discuss these measures at large; they seem to have been adopted in imitation of what has been done here. But as

the circumstances of the two countries are in every point dissimilar, so the same measures have, and will have, directly contrary effects.

I will only say concerning the latter, that a similar project had like to have overturned the Duke of Portland's administration; although it was attempted in the full tide of popularity, and immediately after the important concessions of 1782.

With regard to the former, I shall only observe, that, in common with every other measure of the present Irish government, it is bottomed in ill faith. Every one of their measures involves some sinister design different from that which is ostensible; and mostly, one aimed against the British government; viz.—that of thrusting it out of all effective interference in the internal concerns of Ireland.

The first effect of the proclamation has been, that the armed association against which the proclamation is fulminated, marches in full triumph through the streets; and the Castle entertains the public with the exhibition (as I am credibly informed) of thirteen cannon drawn up, with horses to the carriages, in the castle-yard. This ostentation of panic terror, so exceedingly ridiculous, was also in some degree artificial, and assumed in order to deter the British government (by the impression that there is a rebellion in Ireland)

from listening to the Catholic deputies now about to arrive.

The real essence of the measure is this:—Several armed associations, under the name of volunteers, had long existed; others were already begun in many parts of the kingdom; some by the permission and some by the instigation of the government itself. One of these armed associations, being, in substance, no other than it was before, chooses to change its name, and to call itself "the National Corps of Volunteers;" upon which government instantly issues a proclamation prohibiting armed associations. Now I would ask, if any man in Ireland, when he sees government attacking the name, when it had itself favoured the thing, can avoid drawing the conclusion—

No man is ignorant that the Catholic question is the great and cardinal point of Irish affairs on which all the rest turn. It is, therefore, inevitable that every man will connect this armament of the people, and subsequent prohibition of armament, with that cause. It, therefore, must be concluded, that government endeavoured to arm the people for the suppression of the Catholics, and only endeavoured to disarm them, when it found the people more likely to arm for them than against them. The Catholics, therefore, and their supporters must see, by the counter illustration of these two contradictory measures (to say nothing

of other corroborating circumstances), a full demonstration of an immediate intention in the government to suppress them by the military arm. The consequence is, that the Catholics and their supporters, both in Dublin and in the north, take the alarm; they see themselves driven to extremities, and they both fly out into extremes, and mutually goad each other to desperation. His excellency's proclamation against armed associations is instantly followed by a reduplication of armed associations, upon every possible principle, in every part of the kingdom.

I do not risk much in prognosticating that the subsequent measure of that government will have the same fate, until such time as his Majesty shall please to appoint a government in Ireland whom some one will trust and some one will obey; and till he shall withdraw his confidence from a set of men, who, for twelve long months, have put the existence of this empire to a daily hazard, in order to establish their system of ministerial independence.

THE EARL OF UPPER OSSORY TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Ampthill Park, December 19, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

I take the liberty of enclosing to you a letter I received yesterday from a gentleman of some consideration in Ireland,—Sir Robert Staples. I send it to you, because it is sensibly written, and I believe gives a true account of the state of that country. I suppose, and I am sure I hope, that government communicates with you upon the subject; and if you think it worth while, I do not see any objection to their being acquainted with my friend's letter and opinion. I most sincerely hope they mean to give way, as both policy and justice seem to require. I should be much obliged to you to set my mind at ease, if you can, upon this subject, and also upon another, which, from to-day's accounts, I cannot help having some hopes of; I mean, of the life of Lewis being saved from the cannibals.

I am, my dear sir, with the greatest truth and regard, most sincerely yours,

UPPER OSSORY.

Lady Ossory and my daughters desire their compliments to you.

(ENCLOSURE IN THE FOREGOING.)

SIR ROBERT STAPLES, BART., TO LORD OSSORY.

December 12, 1792.

MY LORD,

I believe you lordship will be a good deal surprised at my addressing you upon a political subject; but as your lordship has a considerable property in this country, and as I feel myself under obligation to, and a personal regard for, your lordship, I hope you will consider in its true sense, a wish of being of some service to your lordship, so far as giving you a fair statement of the present situation of this country. Your lordship must have heard, that the Roman Catholics through all Ireland have appointed delegates to meet in Dublin, in order to obtain redress of grievances. They *have met*, and as far as we can find, for great secresy was observed, have conducted themselves coolly and moderately. Government have endeavoured to cause a division of opinion amongst them, but without effect. This body have sent deputies to England with a petition to the throne, stating their endeavours. They say they have no confidence in government, and would not trust them with it. In Ireland, as well as

England and Scotland, we have a party of a levelling disposition. I do not think the Roman Catholic of that disposition; quite the reverse. The Catholic complains of grievances; the other make no complaints, but wish to throw every thing into confusion. The latter, I think, are most to be dreaded. If the Roman Catholic can be settled with, the other we can easily manage. But in case reasonable concessions are not made, I think an union would certainly take place; though, now, they are perfectly separate, for they naturally hate one another; and if that should happen, I can foresee nothing less than a general rebellion; and I should be glad to know how we could protect ourselves, or make head, against them united. I don't know what their petition may contain, as I have not seen it, but suppose your lordship will have an opportunity of looking it over. The levellers, who style themselves the "United Irishmen," wished to have an interview with the Catholic committee; this was refused. Your lordship has much to lose; I have but a small matter in comparison; but when I consider our different situations, mine is as much to me as yours is to your lordship. When I left the country, I thought differently from what I do now; and it is from necessity, not inclination, that I have changed my sentiments, and I find many in the same situation. I have now told you as well

as I could, in the compass of a letter, the present state of this country. I think I have as little to fear as any man; but though I have thrown out some hints in favour of the Roman Catholic, I would be happy if wiser heads would form some plan to settle matters in this country. I am sure I shall be satisfied; but I think it impossible. I should think your lordship, and many others who have property in this country, would do well to meet and talk the matter over. I shall now conclude, assuring you that I am not a papist, but your lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

ROB. STAPLES.

If your lordship should think it necessary to answer this, direct at Lord Pery's, Dublin.

RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

Date, end of 1792[7].

SIR,

I have the honour to transmit you the enclosed extract from a letter I have just received from

[7] The draft of this letter is not dated; it was probably written in November, 1792. The extract from Mr. Keogh's letter, mentioned as enclosed, has not been found amongst the papers.

Ireland. It is written by one of his Majesty's most able and most deserving subjects in that kingdom, Mr. Keogh; the gentleman who had the honour of conversing with you last year on the affairs of the Catholics.

However disagreeable the information contained in this letter must be to his Majesty, who takes so tender a concern in the tranquillity of his people, I should think myself as deeply responsible, if I withheld it for a single moment. The particulars of the letter will show you the nature of that spirit which now prevails, I am sorry to say, under more than the tacit sanction of authority in that country. It is the very same spirit which so much disgraced the popular party in England towards the end of the reign of Charles the Second, but which, in Ireland, was at that time moderated in its fury by the prudence and temper of the Duke of Ormond. The Irish administration have, unfortunately, thought it their duty to revive that spirit; and, as they always perform their duty with zeal, they have left nothing undone to animate and strengthen it. In the north, it does not appear that they are yet disposed to alter their opinions, which makes it doubly necessary for the Catholics again to renew their supplications for his Majesty's interposition in their favour.

I am perfectly satisfied in my own mind, that

the extraordinary proceedings mentioned in the enclosed letter cannot have his Majesty's approbation or yours, either in the means or in the end; but I am not equally sure that it is so thought in Ireland. The assertion made last winter by Mr. Hobart, that his Majesty was disposed to use his British troops against his Catholic subjects, has, without doubt, not a little contributed to inspire the interested fanaticism of the sectaries in Ireland with additional insolence and ferocity. It is also probable, from the circumstance mentioned in this letter, viz. "that Mr. Hobart is returned to Ireland with flying colours," that the sanction of the British government has again been held out to influence the minds of men, and to corroborate his former assertion. The calumny said to be circulated in the north of Ireland, under the authority of government, relative to the supply of arms from France, is exactly similar to the assertion made use of by the chancellor of Ireland (as I am informed from good authority) at the meeting of members of parliament at the Castle, at the opening of the session.

I have not yet received authentic information concerning the affair alluded to in the enclosed letter, in which the speaker of the Irish House of Commons was concerned. The account which I saw, represents him as having been present as a justice of peace, when a body of troops were

made to fire upon and kill several of his Majesty's subjects, who were assembled in a very peaceable manner, and not at all contrary to law.

How far this conduct becomes the situation of Speaker, or will be justified hereafter, is not at present material;—I mention it only inasmuch as it implicates government in these transactions, by his being a privy-counsellor, and, as it is supposed, much consulted.

From all these circumstances, I trust you will agree with me in opinion, that it is absolutely necessary something should be done to counteract the impressions which are produced, either by the direct use of his Majesty's name, or that arise from presumptions in the conduct of his Irish servants, and which tend so directly to the destruction of his Catholic subjects.

Permit me again to renew my importunity to be favoured with an answer to my former letter, that I may be able to gratify the solicitude of the Catholics to be informed of his Majesty's pleasure, with regard to their present and future destiny.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

RICHARD BURKE.

ON THE STATE OF IRELAND.

If Mr. H.[5] is not somewhat mistaken in his account of the disposition of the council, of the lords, and of the commons of Ireland, it is not much to their advantage. Rather than admit of the least participation in their privileges, they are ready to abandon them altogether:—to shut up their parliament-house, and to become a province of England. That is to say, in order to evade a business attended with some difficulty and hazard, and in which some interests must be opposed or sacrificed, they would embark in one that is next to impossible, and to which neither nation, nor any sect or party in either, has shown the least inclination. As for a union with England, it is a measure on which I do not believe you have yet made up your minds, or that Mr. Pitt is desirous of seeing fifty or a hundred Irish gentlemen arrive from the other side of the water, and take their seats in the House of Commons. The resentment of our friends in Ireland puts me in mind of a circumstance told me by Mr. W. Burke, when he was under-secretary in your office[6]. A man came

[5] Mr. Hobart, who, at the time this paper was written (1792), was Secretary for Ireland; Lord Westmoreland being Lord-Lieutenant.

[6] This expression seems to prove that this paper was addressed to Mr. Dundas, then Secretary of State for the depart-

to him with grievous complaints of the hardships he had sustained; and, said he, rather than submit to such usage, I would consent, as long as I live, to feed upon the beasts of the field, the birds of the air, and the fishes of the sea. In the same manner, the Irish gentlemen are willing, out of mere resentment, to come over here and submit to be English peers and English members of parliament. But as that act of vengeance is not in their power, I do not think they will carry their indignation so far as to shut up shop in Ireland. If you had a mind to answer their peevishness in kind, you would tell them that the sooner they execute their resolution the better; that they have been long enough the curse, scourge, and bane of the Irish nation; and that, never having performed one act of real legislation, when they are called upon to adopt a measure of justice, dictated by the circumstances of the times, they resent as an outrage an attempt to render them at least of some use to their unhappy country; they threaten, if you do not behave better, to quarrel with places and pensions, to surrender with disdain their charter of monopoly, and to break up the great staple trade, never carried to its full perfection but in Ireland,—the whole art and mystery of jobbing.

ment held in 1765 by General Conway, to whom Mr. W. Burke was under-secretary.

But to consider the matter seriously, it is to be observed, that the Roman Catholics ask a share in the privilege of election; not as a matter of speculative right, not upon general principles of liberty, or as a conclusion from any given premises, either of natural or even of constitutional right. They ask it as a protection, and a requisite security which they now have not, for the exercise of legal right. They ask it from a practical sense of the evils they feel by being excluded from it. It is necessary for the free enjoyment of their industry and property, to secure a fair dispensation of justice, both criminal and civil; and to secure them that just estimation and importance, without which, in human tribunals, they cannot obtain it.

It is a known fact, (and on reflection we find it must be so,) that the Roman Catholics have been, and are every day, turned out of very beneficial farms, deprived of the maintenance of themselves and their families, lost their honest occupations, and the exercise (the most beneficial to the state) of their industry and capitals, because they could not vote at an election, and to make room for those that could. *A fortiori*, they have, in multitudes of instances, failed to obtain leases, nor can they ever obtain them *on equal terms*. This is a severe oppression of the Roman Catholic tenantry, from one end of the kingdom to the

other. They do not ask to share with Protestants the privilege of voting at elections, but for the privilege of being tenants to Protestant landlords; and not to Protestant landlords only, but even to landed proprietors of their own persuasion.

The exclusion from that franchise will tell against them, whenever there is room for competition, or room for favour; and where is there not room for one or the other? Where the election spirit runs high, (and it does run high in Ireland,) it operates more or less in every transaction of life. It is well known how many contentions arise out of it, and with what bitterness many civil and even criminal litigations are more or less, directly or remotely, connected with it. A Protestant plaintiff or defendant can serve an election interest. A man will more desire to oblige, and more fear to offend him who can oblige again; and this power of reciprocal obligation is, in all things, a motive to partiality. It will operate most where it ought not to operate at all. For the administration of justice is by our constitution united with the right of election. The same freehold is the qualification for both;—exclusive privileges are also a principle of animosity. The Roman Catholics think they are warranted in supplicating, either that tribunals may be substituted *for them*, in which the proprietors of an exclusive privilege held in derogation of them,

may not decide on their lives and properties; or, what is more simple and natural, that by opening the privilege, the evil may be done away,—the evil of a tribunal, partial by its very constitution. There is also a material difference in privileges. There are privileges confined to a few. Such is the peerage. To have it is an honour; not to have it is no humiliation. But in the privileges which are communicated to many, as the forty-shilling right of election, to possess it is an inconsiderable distinction; but to be excluded from it is a disgrace. No one is proud to be a man; but an eunuch is an object of contempt.

The Roman Catholics, therefore, complain that, in their case, the current of justice is polluted with partiality, animosity, and contempt; three things which (with due submission to the three branches of the Irish legislation) they contend to be unfavourable to justice.

They presume it will not be urged, that the *smallest* inconvenience whatsoever to others, is to be of more weight with the legislature than the *greatest* benefit to them. They desire to have it again and again remembered, that they ask only a *small* participation. There neither is, nor can be, any reason for refusing it *now*, except a determination to refuse it for ever. That determination, as it cannot be avowed, so it ought not to be

formed. There can be no reason for it, (if it is to be called a reason,) except one; that the Roman Catholics of Ireland cannot be safely trusted with any degree of political power. They are confident that whoever sincerely means to contribute to the alleviation of their situation, must consider that idea as utterly incompatible with their relief. They insist, and it is the only thing on which they do insist, that it may be considered as a fundamental and indispensable condition, to the system of a more liberal and happy policy, that they are no longer to be looked upon as dangerous to the government. They will not admit, nor submit to the idea, that they are an object of just suspicion, apprehension, and jealousy, upon any ground whatsoever, either civil or religious. They solemnly and formally protest against it, not only as injurious and groundless in itself, but as the root and baneful cause of their former persecutions, and all their present disqualifications. They are not worse subjects than any others; and, because under every possible discouragement they are not worse, they contend that they are even better; and that, as such, instead of being wholly distrusted, they deserve to be more fully relied on. They contend that there is no kind, and no extent of right, that will not be safely lodged in their hands, when the course of legislative wisdom shall bring their relief to its full maturity. And

if they recede, in any respect, from their full claims, and ask a partial, not a total,—a gradual, not a sudden relief, they desire that their moderation may be understood to be, as it is, not an admission of any imputation, but a necessary sacrifice to the remnant of irrational prejudices and unjust antipathies; a tenderness for the weakness of their Protestant brethren; the effect, not of meanness, but of a public-spirited prudence and compliance with the impracticable nature of inveterate evils. There is no point of positive claim, or of just pretension, which they will not waive, postpone, or relinquish, out of a spirit of accommodation, in favour of the interest or the convenience of any branch of the legislature, or any number of respectable individuals; but they think, in return, that they have a right to desire, that they may not be considered as suspected persons; much less that the suspicion should not be taken as a principle, to controul the measure, and direct the mode of their relief.

When the evils are considered which have proceeded from the real or pretended apprehensions concerning the designs of the papists, it will not be thought to argue any malevolence towards the Protestants of Ireland, that they desire, entreat, and supplicate, that the bitter source of woe may no more be mentioned. From thence has proceeded the confiscation of their property,

the proscription of their religious rights, the violation of their domestic peace, the relaxation of their domestic ties, and the long oppression of a code of laws invented to destroy them. The Roman Catholics assert that they are good men; but they do not pretend to be angels. It is said not to be in the power of Omnipotence to make that which has been, not to have been; and, therefore, oblivion is the only remedy for irreparable wrongs. The Papists of Ireland have sustained many injuries; they have inflicted none; and, wishing to lay a foundation for eternal reconciliation, they call upon their Protestant brethren, not only to desist from drawing conclusions to their disadvantage from their principles or their numbers, but, if possible, to expunge from their minds, that a political distinction between the Protestant and Papist was ever thought of. It is impossible that the origin, the real cause and fatal effects of these terrors, should not some time or other become a subject of popular discussion, if they are to be preserved as an immortal principle of action. Be it here said, that the code of penal laws was not the effect of fear, for men do not oppress those whom they fear, but those whom they do not. That pretext, for such it was, and the consequent distinction between Protestant and Catholic, has done all that it can do. Now the Protestants have nothing to gain, but every

thing to lose. The operation of the Popery laws, through the medium of infinite private calamity, and much public detriment, has put the Protestants in possession of three-fourths of the landed property of the kingdom; and, possessed of all that is beneficial and all that is honourable in Church and State, can any thing be more absurd than for *them* perpetually to remind those whom they have deprived of all these things, that there is a perpetual irreconcileable opposition between their interests? Would it not be a much more natural and wiser policy, in the sect of the *rich reigning few*, to persuade that of *the humble and many*, that their interests were not at all incompatible,—that one was not the object of fear, nor the other of invasion; and that though the enjoyment was different, the right was the same; and that, with regard to all constitutional objects, the possession of the one was the expectancy of the other? A Papist can reason as well as a Protestant; and he can argue with infallible conclusion, that if he is, of necessity, dangerous to a Protestant government, a Protestant government can by no possibility be salutary to him.

The Roman Catholics are certain it is the interest of the Protestants that the distinction between Roman Catholic and Protestant should never again be taken up, as the denomination of adverse parties in the state; but that it should

die and fade away under the influence of a milder and more beneficent policy. For they can assure those who do not know it, that if those names must be remembered, and a popular ferment should arise, (as who can say it never will?) that the history of no country, no train of events and circumstances, ever furnished materials more calculated, in dexterous hands, to excite the multitude to madness and desperation. Here, then, the true temper and true disposition of the Roman Catholics appears in its full lustre. Instead of waiting for the maturity of those popular humours, which are preparing to their hands without any industry or any hazard of theirs, they come and range themselves under the shadow of a Protestant government, and solicit a part of those rights, the whole of which the principles of true national policy would not forbid them to expect.

It is not altogether thirty years since there raged in Ireland, not the least bitter and savage persecution of those, which have been engendered by fictitious terrors of state. It exhibited a popular fury equal to that of the Popish plot in the reign of Charles II.;—a perjury as bloody as that of Oates and Bedlow;—a subornation as audacious. The period is not too long to defy the memory of man. Those are yet alive whose near relations were the victims of that persecution; one of the principal actors in it, Sir John

Maude, is dead. The companion of his achievements is yet alive; a prosperous gentleman, who flourishes in much reputation, and has since had the honour of selling himself to many successive administrations. These things the Roman Catholics cannot help remembering; but they remember them only to desire to put it out of the power of that, or any other gentleman, to indulge himself in the amusement of grand and petty juries at their expense,—to seek popularity, perhaps to forward a borough or a county interest, by his profusion in their blood.

This last persecution had its origin from a riot excited among the people by an insane Protestant of the name of Fant[7], and which was unconnected, directly or indirectly, with any thing relating to the Roman Catholic interest or persuasion. But the principle, the operative principle, that Papists are dangerous to the government, first swelled this riot into a rebellious conspiracy, and then directed the fury of public persecution against the clergy and laity of a whole people. That people now observe, and not without anxiety, that the very same principle is brought forward as a reason for excluding them from a small participation in the right of election. And for that very reason they are the less willing to depart from the requisition; and they trust

[7] Vide vol. i. p. 44.

that government agree with them, that it is absolutely necessary that their relief should be carried in the teeth of that objection, and that so noxious a principle must be attacked and taken in its strongest hold, before the Roman Catholics can become the subjects of effectual protection. While that unjust, fantastic, popular terror, the mother of every absurdity and every injustice, is kept alive as a principle in legislation, the Roman Catholics know, by sad example, that they never can be secure from any quality or degree of oppression; and that they will have to answer, as they did in the persecution of 1764, for every public commotion, and for every false and every true alarm. That they will be the sport of every faction, and see their dearest interests sacrificed, as they often have been, to individual caprice and the humour of the day.

Since the former relaxations, no less than *four new* disqualifying statutes have been enacted against them, upon that invidious principle. It is, therefore, because these relaxations did not go to the root of the evil, but left a growing principle of oppression, the effect of which they have practically felt, that the Roman Catholics are now compelled to come to government, and to ask something of a nature and operation different from that of the former relief, and which might be at length effectual. They conceive that this

can *only* be found in the right of election. That alone can give their interests fair play, by bringing them into a connexion of mutual obligation with the great and the powerful. That alone can raise to anything like equality, a people habitually injured, because habitually despised. The smallest participation of that right, will at least exempt them from those names of reproach by which antipathy is kept alive. Those who have, a long time, being the objects of public odium, want every aid; but miserable indeed is that situation which can find it in such trifles; and yet they think that the common civilities of election advertisements, the forms of a canvass, would help to restore them in the opinion of their fellow-subjects. When their vote and interest is to be solicited in a contest for a county, it will be forgot that they exercise a baneful superstition, and are dangerous to the state. It may, perhaps, be recollected that they are of a very ancient and respectable religious persuasion.

If the general policy of the Irish government, enforced by motives of justice and humanity, require that the Roman Catholics should be raised from their present degradation; and, moreover, the circumstances of the times do, in a manner, demand it; and if a share in the right of election is, fairly speaking, necessary to this end, and that the apprehensions on which it is opposed, if they

ever were, are not now, founded,—it is impossible that this accumulated weight of reasons should produce no effect at all upon the Irish legislature; —it must scarcely be resistible. But if, after all, those exploded state terrors, the cause of their oppressions, and of all oppressions, are again recurred to against them, and successfully recurred to,—the Roman Catholics must acknowledge with sorrow that they are the objects of an incurable, stubborn, blind, determined animosity, which no time, no patience, no length of suffering, no change of circumstance, no moral reason, no political expediency, can appease or mitigate.

The Roman Catholics are warranted, by the example of former times, in asserting, that no political trusts, and no share in any part of the representation, which could be placed in their hands, is an innovation in the constitution. They have not only voted for members, but sat themselves in parliament a greater length of time than they have been excluded from those franchises. They sat in parliament until the 4th of William III., upwards of one hundred and sixty years after the Reformation; nor were they deprived of votes until the 1st of George II.,—thirty-six years after[8]; and that, not from any abuse, proved

[8] The Roman Catholics were excluded from the Irish Parliament by an English act of 1691. (3rd W. & M. c. 2. sect. 5.) They were deprived of the right of voting at elections by the

or alleged, but from two causes:—the natural progress of persecution, irritating and goading itself to new insults; and, secondly, the restless and tyrannical cruelty of a fictitious public terror. The nature and habits of men are to be considered; and the Roman Catholics cannot persuade themselves that a small share in the delegating part of representation *only*, can be thought too great a security to them, or excessively dangerous to others, when they recollect that a *majority of Catholics in both houses of parliament* was not sufficient, in former times, to prevent their Protestant brethren from dispossessing them of every civil and of every political right.

The admission of the most respectable and decent ranks of the Roman Catholics to a share of constitutional rights, must certainly strengthen, instead of diminishing, the security of the state as it now stands. A greater number of persons will be interested in conservation. If the Roman Catholics did entertain evil designs against the constitution, this measure must operate as a bribe to deprive them of that description of their partizans, who would be their most essential and necessary instruments. The apprehension that this exclusion might lead to parliamentary reform, of all chimerical terrors is the most idle; unless it

Irish act, 1st George II. c. 9. sect. 7; Lord Carteret being then Lord Lieutenant.

is supposed that men become hostile to a system in proportion as they connect themselves with its supporters, and acquire interests under it. What the Roman Catholics ask, is only diametrically the contrary. The reformers desire a new right of election, and that the whole constitution of representation should be new cast. The Roman Catholics desire that the right should be ratified, confirmed, and extended to a new class of citizens.

If the experience of mankind is to be credited, a seasonable extension of rights is the best expedient for the conservation of them. Every right, every privilege, every immunity, every distinction known in the world, and which has been preserved through the fluctuations of time and circumstance, has been so preserved. You remarked, very judiciously, that the capacity of purchasing inheritances being once granted, you did not see what the Protestants should afterwards fear; since, if the prejudice had been so strong, as was supposed, it would have taken post there; and you seemed to think it is not unnatural that the power of holding land should lead to a desire of all the benefits of landed qualification. The conclusion is just. He that gives the principal, gives the accessory. But to consider the matter in another point of view:—I hold that the measure of giving the Roman Catholics an interest in the landed property of the kingdom, was not only the wisest

policy, but the most fortunate event that ever took place in Ireland. It was the union of the roses; and it prevented for ever, what perhaps might have happened before this, and what, in the course of nature, must have happened some time or other, the most irreconcileable quarrel that can divide a nation,—a struggle for the landed property of the whole kingdom. It had been so in Ireland for near five hundred years. But parliament, by its last relaxations, has, if I may so say, taken a counter-security, in an union of interest, and confusion of titles, for that principle of natural and legal limitation by which wrong enures into right. Let it now fill the measure, by suffering property to give, in their hands, all that property can give. Let them take the same method (it will prove as effectual) to secure the right of election, established by law, which they did to confirm the act of settlement.

In the eye of a legislator, it makes all the difference in the world, whether a *new right* is given, or only the capacity to enjoy one that already exists. The first is very dangerous, the last extremely safe. In the first, we are all at sea; in the last, all the effects, tendencies, and abuses have long been foreseen; and, if not provided for, we know their nature, and how to deal with them.

There are other grounds for thinking that the right of freehold would not lead the Roman Catho-

lics to a parliamentary reform, or to any speculative scheme of government. It has never yet entered into their contemplation; they have had other things to think of. Theirs are real wants and real grievances. The necessity of contending with real oppression, gives a sobriety and steadiness to the mind. The sufferings of the Roman Catholics are grounded in fact, and the objects in reason. Whereas those grievances which grow out of theories, and are made out by logical deduction, are quite of another kind. They are the diseases of minds pampered with security and power; who, having nothing to desire, look, in liberty, for more than liberty can give, and wander without a principle through the vast void of speculation. We may be sure they can cause no real discontent, and whatever appears to arise on that account, is wholly artificial and factitious. We know, in fact, that all these modern theories are nothing but the fraudulent inventions of restless ambition in low men. The best way to discourage imposture, is to take up the objects of real charity.

There is one observation which seems to be of some weight, and which ought to relieve from the apprehensions of ill effects, from any infusion which it may be requisite to make into the whole or any part of the representative right, as long as the principle of each is preserved. It is this: the danger which threatens the established

constitutions of Europe, (the only danger which does threaten them,) proceeds not from the excess of any of them, or the internal struggle of any of their component parts against each other. It is an universal impetus against the *whole* frame. It does not depend upon a strength derived from, or acquired in any of them, but is extraneous to them all. Accordingly, its partisans do not band together, as peers, as commoners, as clergy, as laity, as corporators, as freeholders; but by descriptions absolutely general, and solely popular (a remarkable circumstance, and peculiar to the distemper of the time); nor can an accession to any of those interests forward their views, but rather the contrary. Whoever is now attached to any constitutional interest, increases the strength of the whole of it, because the whole is threatened. Those who embrace the doctrines of the day are, *ipso facto*, indifferent to all these interests, which formed for the preservation, afford few resources for the destruction of the state. Why the Roman Catholics should now request, and so earnestly insist upon, a share in any of those interests, unless they really desire it, cannot be conceived. We must conclude that, when they have obtained, they will endeavour to defend it.

One thing more it is necessary for the Roman Catholics to entreat; which is, that nothing they have hitherto said, or may in future have occasion

to say, should be construed into a menace. The purport of men's discourse, as well as the drift of their intentions, must be explained by the tenor of their actions. The substance, form, and time of their present application, is better than a thousand arguments. Why should they conceal from government that other men desire to connect themselves with them in the strictest bonds; that they are sensible of their grievances, and will labour for their relief? This is no secret. The Dissenters are roaring it with a thousand mouths. It is, they conceive, no proof of their alienation from the Protestant cause in general, that they come to the Protestants of the *church*, unsought and unexpected; nor is it any ways offensive if they say, that, while they make these advances, they are themselves the objects of warm and incessant solicitation to another party,—an active, an enterprising, a powerful party.

——— "Ne temne quod ultro;
Præferimus manibus vittas et verba precantum[9]."

They wish it to be known, and they are proud to show, that they are not a despicable or a despised connexion; and they think it is neither unsound advice nor unkind language to churchmen, to desire that, to secure, perhaps to save themselves, they would at least *mitigate* those pre-

[9] Æn. vii. 236.

judices which others have *sacrificed* in order to betray them.

The Roman Catholics also wish to make the most advantageous display of their strength; not as a menace, but as a motive and an encouragement to a Protestant government to undertake their cause. The truth is, that those who will consider Ireland attentively, will see that the state of things is changed, and that it must be so. The former system was a thing not made to last; temporary in its very nature. Oppression at length exhausts its own resources; the miserable pretexts of avarice, bigotry, and party spirit, wear themselves out; the fashion of the time changes; and the great mass of a nation at last recovers something of its natural importance. The very reaction of a destructive policy produces a power of resistance. The system of laws which, by a perversion of all legal principles, and by various contrivances of vexation, had screwed the Roman Catholics out of their landed property, and in the same process broken the spirit of their gentry, has forced a commercial interest to grow up in its place, and (the former generation passing away) has drawn up with it a race of men who have escaped the toils of the law. They have no longer the minds and qualities of men hunted into obscurity, and sinking into indigence by a daily impoverishment. What was once a landed interest,

is now converted into a commercial interest; and the men who compose it feel something of the elevation, and possess the energy, which accompanies growing circumstances in those who feel that their fortune is due to their own vigour.

The circumstances of the time increase the weight of the Catholic interest, and render it decisive. The division which has arisen among Protestants themselves, is not of their making; but they do not see any reason that their distractions should perpetuate that disfranchisement which their concord has produced. They do not wish to take any undue advantage of that disunion; but, on the contrary, they point out a method by which the evil may be converted into the means of effecting a union upon larger principles. It will have been a fortunate dissension, if it tends to establish "a peace indeed,—concurring both in name and quality;" for the protection of all, not the oppression of any; a system by which the true balance of the kingdom may be restored; and government find, in the great and stable mass of the nation itself, a force and cement, to control and bind together all its jarring interests.

Again and again to remind government of that change of circumstances which might otherwise escape their attention, is, they assert, an act of manly and generous fidelity, and nothing more. If what the Roman Catholics ask is just, and mode-

rate, and proper, they trust *that* will be a presumption in favour of their meaning and intentions; because intimidation is seldom used to enforce reasonable demands. If government shall be of opinion that the Roman Catholics entertain violent and turbulent designs, pursued with sedition and violence, they will incur all the evils to which those are condemned, who cannot distinguish their friends from their enemies. They will fall into the greatest possible error in government,—a total misconception of the nature and disposition of the people they are to rule. All men, however, must act upon their own judgment. It behoves government well to consider what steps are to be taken with regard to three millions of people, who, seeking admission into the state, either feel such a sense of their strength, or so rashly forget their weakness, as to resort to intimidation and violence. To decline the repeal of a few degrading statutes, would be but a poor provision against the danger. The practical consequences which would follow from such a supposition, the many measures which it would be necessary to take, infinitely more arduous and critical than the *one* now proposed, exclude the supposition altogether.

The Roman Catholics encounter difficulties in their suit which, however, are not very uncommon; an ignorance of what is passing in the minds of the men they address. While *they* are labour-

ing to prove that congeniality and soundness of principle render them objects of confidence to government, and that the least encouragement does not involve the inevitable ruin of the state, *he* who hears them may perhaps think they are so very, very good, that it is impossible, by any treatment, to disgust, alienate, or drive them into other courses.

While *they* are proving that they are powerful enough to be attended to, or not enough to be dangerous, *he* may think they are so weak as to be despised with impunity; or so strong, as that the least increase whatsoever would enable them to overrun the country. A mind like yours will be aware of the effect of these contradictions. If these ideas are to be taken in the extreme, and are conclusive objections, they operate against every public measure whatsoever, which affects collective bodies, to which one or other of them must apply. But there may be a medium in this, as in every thing else. It is possible that the Roman Catholic interest may be sufficiently important to be brought within the sphere of policy, and yet not strong enough to burst it. They may be, and I believe are, so affected to government, as, like all other subjects, to be fit and apt for all the benefits and all the trusts of the state; and yet liable to all the temptations which, either by ill-usage on one side, or seduction on the other, usually lead to

alienation or to revolt. Such they are, and so let government consider them. They are men under oppression. It is necessary for them to use their season; but they do it neither seditiously nor immoderately. If they speak firmly and strenuously, it must be considered that they are not in an academy of compliments, or carrying on an intercourse of sentiment. They are urging their most important interests, and employing one favourable moment to alleviate the oppressions of a century.

In England the Roman Catholics are a sect; in Ireland they are a nation. This fundamental difference must affect every reason, and every measure concerning them. What the effect is, is not now the question; but it is sufficient to show that no example can fairly be drawn from one to affect the other. The elective franchise was refused to English Catholics, lest those of Ireland should expect it. They beg leave to protest against their being excluded, and their cause being prejudiced, as it were, by a side wind in the English parliament; which neither had, nor could have taken into their consideration their peculiar circumstances and situation. Those, and those alone, considered principally, and not collaterally, must direct the deliberation of government. The members of a small sect derive several advantages, and often a degree of personal importance, from the

close partialities of a contracted association; which sometimes more than counterbalances the disadvantage of any legal disqualification. But those who are lost in the immensity of a numerous, and in one sense, a national church; if they are debarred, (if I may so say,) from the general fund of individual consequence and protection, they are destitute indeed.

The Roman Catholics do not assert that this concession will make no change whatsoever in the state. Every act, and every repeal must; and it is intended to do so. They ask it, because it is a change; and because a change, and such a one, is necessary to their situation. Let us suppose it allowed that the Roman Catholics ought to be admitted to some share in the election interest. What is the quantity of the proposed participation? The county members are sixty, or one-fifth of the whole representation. Suppose the Roman Catholics to possess one-fourth of the landed property of the kingdom. If their interest in county elections followed this proportion, (under the modification proposed it cannot be any thing like,) the whole body of the Roman Catholics would just have one-fourth of one-fifth, that is to say, one-twentieth of the election interest;—no very immoderate share for 3,000,000 of people. Now, as the Protestants are only one-third of the Catholics, and yet would have twenty times

more votes, the share of each individual Catholic would be only in the proportion of one to sixty. "Nine tailors make a man," and it will not be thought unreasonable that sixty Catholics should make a Protestant. Such, in fact, would be his proportion in that degree of political power and preponderance in the state, to be derived from the right of election, which every body knows how little it is. But as the whole executive power of the state, military, ecclesiastical, and civil, is in the hands of Protestants, and as the sixtieth belonging to the Catholics operates only on one-third of the legislative power, new principles and new denominators would be given, by which you might multiply the dividend of the Roman Catholic influence out of all the power of decimal fractions. This acquisition of political power is almost ridiculous as a relief; can it be thought tremendous in the concession?

But, it is said, will the Roman Catholics be contented with this? There is reason to believe they will; for it is all they ask; and, considering the circumstance, they will esteem it (being the first political concession) as a great exertion of the liberality of government. But will they never ask for more? Undoubtedly they will. It would be a mockery, an imposture, on their part, and a mischievous error of government, if they pretended that such a portion was sufficient to an-

swer, to the Roman Catholics, all the just ends of representation, according to the joint relation of their numbers and their property, real and personal. But it is sufficient to satisfy them of the protection of government, of the cessation of the exclusive system, and a security for the continuance and gradual extension of a system of union. The Roman Catholics confess that one of their objects in this application is, that it may be practically shown in a small instance,—first, that their introduction into the political system does not produce any danger, any inconvenience, any considerable change, or, indeed, any revulsion at all, in the state of public or local interests; secondly, that, by their temperate and constitutional use of this acquisition, they may show themselves qualified for, and acquire a title to, one that is more ample; thirdly, that it may appear that the apprehensions on which their emancipation is opposed are wholly groundless. These same identical apprehensions have started up on each several relaxation, as they were proposed. We shall be murdered in our beds; we shall be driven out of our possessions; we shall have a popish state,—a popish religion; we will quit the country, &c. &c.—the perpetual burthen of the song, recurring every time, but with less force, as well as less truth, at each.

But at this rate, they will proceed from point

to point, till they are masters of the whole state. There is the rub. We will not say A, for fear we should be obliged to say B. We will not give the agistment of a cow, nor so much as a blade of grass, for fear it should lead to the surrender of our whole estate. Observe the process of the argument from the beginning. If you give them real property, they will acquire political privileges; then they will acquire more property; and then they will get into corporations, and from corporations into parliament; from the civil to the military; from the law to the revenue; and then, by one great bound, there will be none but Papists, or at least a great majority, in the army, in the senate, in the civil administration; and then we shall have a Popish Church, and Popish State, and then there is an end of it; and thus the basket of rotten eggs becomes a foundation for the subversion of an empire. If it would be ridiculous for their hopes, it is so for our fears.

The principle of the "*pedetentim progredientis*," as applied to the communication of constitutional privileges, is false in politics, as I believe it is in any other moral subject. It is a fallacy for this reason: because it supposes that the same jealousies, and the same opposition of interest, between those who are within, and those who are without the pale, those who are privileged

and those who are not, subsist *after* the communication of the privileges, and after the confusion of the boundaries which subsisted *before* it; whereas it is the direct contrary. As the participation advances, the adversity declines, and both parties meet in a middle point. If the principle urged against the Roman Catholics was true, it would prove this proposition: — That, wherever the bulk of any people have been once wholly excluded from the civil state, it is impossible ever to incorporate them into it, consistently with the stability of the state. This is contradicted, more or less, by the history of every country in Europe, without exception. They have almost every one of them been conquered; in every one of them the conquerors appropriated to themselves the lands, and the civil and military administration; and yet, when this was done, the natives, by degrees, have been raised from slavery to freedom, from freedom to property, and from property to privilege, not only without the invasion of the usurped possessions, or subversion of established authority, but with all those advantages which make Europe what it is. Ireland is in the same circumstances. It has been conquered, but with this difference: that the revolution of its landed property has been effected, not only by arms, but by laws. That conquest has settled into security. It is a hundred years old. The natives are restored

to the capacity of real tenure. The effect proves that it was not premature. The necessity of the measure was wisely and happily anticipated; and now, the circumstance of the times, and the impossibility of maintaining a Protestant government on any other terms, require a communication of constitutional privileges. Fortunately, that necessity has not proceeded so far, but that we can do it by degrees. We may feel our way. We have it in our power (if I may quote a certain modern author) to put "millions of men in a way of being freed *gradually* and, therefore, *safely* to themselves and to the state."

There is difficulty,—there is danger; but the danger to be removed is instant and pressing; that to be incurred is contingent and remote. Benefits may beget ingratitude; friendship, hostility; and freedom, usurpation. True, but this is not the point *now*. The evil with regard to the Roman Catholic interest is, the "too little," not the "too much." When that is the complaint, we will think of the remedy. By practising the prudence of to-day, we shall be more likely to practise that of to-morrow. He that knows how to concede with wisdom, may also know how to resist with spirit. But this will never be necessary. It is the fault of government, if the Roman Catholic people and persuasion are not incorporated and

lost with the Protestants in one State, and even in one Church.

I conclude this requisition with an extract from the articles of Limerick; the condition upon which the Roman Catholics of Ireland finally submitted to the government of King William; premising first, that they ask to be restored to a *qualified part of one privilege;* secondly, that *all* the laws of personal disqualification, and *all* the penal statutes against them and their religion, have passed since the reign of King William [1].

1st Art. The Roman Catholics of the kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did in the reign of Charles II.

2nd Art. And all right, title, and interest,—*privileges and immunities,*—which they were lawfully entitled to in the reign of Charles II.

This last article regards those who were actually in arms. It cannot be supposed to exclude those who were not.

[1] This is nearly, but not quite correct; as for example, the disqualification to sit in Parliament of a Protestant who had married a Catholic, by 3rd W. & M. c. iii. sect. 2., though acting *directly* against a Protestant, must be considered as aimed *indirectly* against the Catholic religion.

Statement by RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ., *of the relations between himself, the Roman Catholics, and the Irish Government; written at the close of* 1792.

MY purpose in this brief statement is only to show that neither the origin nor the continuance of the difference between the Irish government and the Roman Catholics, is to be attributed to *me*. I have no desire of crimination any further than as it may be necessary, in order to prevent a perseverance in errors, which I cannot help considering as at once culpable and fatal. At present I content myself with stating the general heads of my conduct and that of the Irish government. I am prepared to enter into a more detailed discussion whenever it shall be necessary.

The immediate object of my journey to Ireland was the service of the Roman Catholics, to whom I was bound by every consideration, both from the merits of their cause, and the most flattering and personal confidence; but as every laudable purpose may be referred to some greater and more general end, it was my most earnest desire to connect the relief of the Catholics with his Majesty's and the public interests.

This end was only to be accomplished, first, by

carefully preserving the Roman Catholics from the temptation, or the inclination to factious principles, or connexions of every sort:—Secondly, by uniting them in affection and gratitude to the government:—Thirdly, by giving them an interest in the constitution as it stands. If these objects had been accomplished, it would have been impossible (all the circumstances of the times considered) to have rendered a more solid, permanent, and extensive service to the crown, to the people, and to the general stability of the empire.

In this affair, it would have been exceedingly expedient to have avoided every sort of public discussion, and that every thing should have been settled on the footing of an amicable and private arrangement.

The Catholics were perfectly disposed to enter into all these ideas, and held all the principles necessary to give them complète effect.

On my arrival in Ireland, I opened myself to his Majesty's ministers in the most unreserved and confidential manner; and rather as if I had been a servant of his Majesty, (however presumptuous it might be in me to consider myself in that light,) than as an agent for the Catholics. I omitted no means in my power to conciliate them to the Catholics,—to make myself personally acceptable to them, and to show myself

attached to their particular interests, though I had no reason to do so, except that they were his Majesty's servants; and though they had shown manifest signs of their ill disposition towards the Catholics, I made direct offers to most, or all of them, to do every thing for their credit or their convenience (if they would inform me what they wished me to do) which could be consistent with my duty to the King and to my clients, which I considered, and still consider, as one.

In this desire to act in concert with the Irish ministers, and in the vain hope of persuading them of the indispensable policy of taking the Catholics under the protection of his Majesty's government, I persevered so long, as much to injure the interests of the Catholics, and to incur the suspicion of being a dupe, or an instrument, to the practices of the Castle.

Finding the ministers determined not to accede to the wishes of the Catholics,—for which they were pleased to assign no reason but their will and pleasure, and the pretended impossibility of carrying the measure into execution,—I proposed that the Catholics should relinquish their claim to the right of suffrage for this year, (the only relief which really reached their grievances,) provided any assurances were given for any future time.

During the discussion which afterwards ensued, I omitted no opportunity of testifying a concilia-

tory and friendly disposition. I actually renewed the negotiation; offering my services in every way that could be required; and, finding the animosities growing to a dangerous height, renewed the proposal on the part of the Catholics, of the present relinquishment of their just pretensions, provided any thing substantial was added to the avowed mockery of Sir Hercules Langrishe's bill[2]. I also proposed, on the part of the Catholics, that they would afford every facility to government,—by public expression of gratitude, or other means which might be required,—for the future extension of their relief.

The Irish government gave me plainly to understand, that they had come to an unalterable determination that the Catholics should not enjoy any share in the constitutional privileges, either now or at any future time. I could not avoid perceiving a great reluctance in them to hold any intercourse with the Catholics, or to admit the idea that his Majesty's government, or themselves personally, could derive any benefit from their affection and gratitude, or had any thing to apprehend from the most contemptuous rejection of them. Their conduct both before and since has

[2] Brought in by him in February, 1792,—the 32nd Geo. III. c. 21. It admitted the Catholics to the bar, allowed them to keep schools, to intermarry with Protestants, and gave them some other trifling privileges.

shown, that they had no other view than to frustrate the designs of the Catholics, and to keep them in their present degraded state, at whatever hazard, for an end which shall be afterwards explained. To compass this, they set on foot a series of confused and complicated projects, the most impolitic and dangerous in themselves, and the most glaringly inconsistent with the circumstances of the time and country.

The primary was, (in contradiction to the policy pursued from the beginning of his Majesty's reign,) to make an incurable rent in the state, by renewing the old fatal principle of division;—to set up the Protestant against the Catholic interest, and to exasperate and provoke it by the revival of every sort of animosity, jealousy, and alarm. The next was to destroy every principle of union, cement, or authority of the Catholics amongst themselves, in order to render them dependent and helpless;—a project directly introductive of a total anarchy, and pursued by the most hopeless, desperate, and mischievous expedients; the most conspicuous of which was, a sort of public appeal made to the people at large, against those whom they had empowered to state and to solicit their claims, and whom government knew to speak their sense.

This appeal, which could not but excite a ferment throughout the kingdom, was pursued with

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all the influence of government, and attempted in every county. Their addresses were carried about by the known connexions and dependents of the Castle, from parish to parish, to obtain the signatures of the lowest of the people, and even marks from those who could not write. The second expedient was, (as Protestant had been set up against Catholic,) to set up the landed interest of the latter against the commercial, and by the influence of the clergy on the people, to counteract that of the principal laity and leaders in their civil concerns. If all these schemes had not proved abortive, I could not have answered for the consequences; and some merit is due for mitigating and averting the effects which the attempt was so well calculated to produce.

The manner in which the Catholics were forced into a public discussion, has been explained in the address of the committee to the public. But the whole proceeding relative to the address to his Majesty signed by Lord Kenmare, &c., forms an article of the charge which the Catholics have instructed me to make against the Irish government, and of which I am now to state the heads: —First, as a flagrant violation of good faith towards the committee and the body of the Catholics highly dishonourable, and, in its tendency, ruinous to his Majesty's government:—Secondly, as an imposition wilfully contrived by the Irish ministers,

to deceive the king and his English servants concerning the real state and disposition of the Catholic body.

The Irish ministers endeavoured to inflame the Protestants against the Catholics by an accusation which they knew to be false, and believed to be impossible;—viz. a supposed junction with factious persons of other descriptions for the purpose of destroying the Church and State, and introducing a pure democracy. This they did at the very time when the Catholics were professing, both to them and the government of England, every kind of abhorrence of, and offering every kind of security against, those principles, and any persons who would be disposed to espouse them.

On the whole, it cannot be concealed that the government of Ireland conducted itself on the falsest principles, and particularly acted towards the Catholics with perfidiousness, injustice, and rancour.

With regard to myself, they made use of every resource of public and private calumny to ruin my reputation and character. Of this, however, I do not complain. But I do complain of the communication, and also of the mis-representation of my most secret and confidential discourses concerning the most critical affairs of the state. This violation of official secrecy was made to the very persons whom the ministers either did, or pretended to

consider, as the enemies of his Majesty's government.

With regard to the Catholics, I complain that during the whole course of an amicable negotiation with government, both here and in Ireland, newspapers and publications, paid for by, and written under the sanction of the Castle, were filled with the vilest scurrility against their persons and characters. Every calumny which bigotry and civil war had engendered in former ages, was studiously revived, to which were added every odious imputation which could be suggested by the circumstances of the time. Every man, nearly in proportion to his connexion with, and dependance upon the Castle, (and few of any other sort,) expressed the most bitter, I may say, bloody animosities against the Catholics. This temper was nowhere discouraged.

An address was procured from the corporation of Dublin, absolute creatures of the Castle, the purport of which was, to perpetuate the disfranchisement of the Catholics. It was carried up with the most ostentatious and offensive parade to the Castle (where an entertainment was prepared for the addressers), through the streets of Dublin, a city in which three-fourths of the people are Catholics. This procession did not, as it was calculated to do, provoke them to any rash or sudden act of resentment. This insult has, how-

ever, left a deep impression. Similar addresses were solicited and procured from other places.

The conduct of the ministers and their dependants in parliament was in the same spirit, but with more success. Lord Carhampton, the mover (or seconder) of the address, made a virulent invective against the Catholics. No ministerial member spoke during the whole session without throwing some aspersion either on the cause or on the persons. Mr. Cuffe [3] charged the Catholics, and myself personally, with a design to intimidate parliament.

None but ministerial persons, except Mr. Sheridan [4], showed any disrespect or virulence to the Catholics.

Every attempt was made to prevent the Catholics from petitioning parliament. The first time the petition was to be presented, the speaker abruptly left the chair. Next day, Mr. O'Hara [5], though up first, was indecently prevented from presenting it, by a ministerial cry in the House for Sir Hercules Langrishe. In the mean time, the opportunity was taken, by vociferation and expression of furious animosity (which succeeded), to intimidate and confound Mr. O'Hara. A cavilling and unfounded objection was taken.

[3] M.P. for the County Mayo.

[4] M.P. for Charlemont.

[5] M.P. for the County of Sligo.

Mr. O'Hara going out of the House to speak to the petitioners, Mr. Toler [6] made a buffoon speech, in effect, calling the Catholics thieves. Immediately the House adjourned, without waiting for Mr. O'Hara's return, after an attempt to take me into custody, under pretence of my being in the body of the House.

Sir Hercules Langrishe's bill was the continuation of the scheme commenced in Lord Kenmare's address, and founded on the same system of false principles and false facts. It was an insidious artifice to divide, not to relieve the Catholics; to frustrate their real desires, and, by concessions purposely unsatisfactory, to load them with the odium of unreasonableness and ingratitude. He took upon himself to assure the House, that the Catholics would be satisfied with his bill, though he knew it the contrary. His speech, under the disguise of much attachment to the Catholics, was a tissue of unfounded calumnies, and false imputations of seditious designs and levelling principles.

Mr. Secretary Hobart accused the Catholics of an intention to rebel, and publicly threatened them with the exertion of all the military force of Ireland and of England.

When the Catholic petition was presented, the ministerial members indulged themselves in the

[6] Afterwards Lord Norbury.

most indecent clamours while the names of the petitioners were reading. Sir Boyle Roche, who holds £1500 per annum from government, scurrilously vilified the petitioners by name.

All these artifices, clamours, surreptitious addresses, scurrilities, and threats of military force, were evidently meant to intimidate the Catholics, and to deter their friends from supporting them in parliament. The ministers attempted, and to some purposes succeeded, to give currency to their calumnies by stifling all discussion in parliament; sometimes by clamour and violence, at others by pretending a desire of an unnecessary and fraudulent unanimity. Mr. Hobart accused the Catholics of presenting the petition in order to procure the rejection of Sir H. Langrishe's bill, on which occasion Mr. Grattan put him in mind, that it was not the business of the secretary to the Lord Lieutenant to abuse the people of Ireland, not even the Catholics, and requested him in future to confine his assertions to decency and truth.

In the House of Lords the same system of artifice and violence was pursued. The Bishop of Killaloe was interrupted in his speech by clamour, and afterwards silenced by a vote upon a point of order, contrary to order. The chancellor took upon himself, without authority, to speak in the name of the Catholics. He assured

the House that they desired the clause dispensing with the necessity of a license from the ordinary for keeping a school, and that they considered it as an object of great importance. The Catholics did not care one jot about it. The chancellor also made use of the same affected desire of unanimity, in order to stifle the real merits of the Catholic cause; under the pretence, that unanimity would give a grace to the boon, and secure the gratitude of the people; he well knowing, that it neither did, nor was intended to satisfy the people, but, on the contrary, to defeat and divide them.

Having given this sketch of the conduct of the Irish ministers, it is necessary to say a word as to the end and intentions of it. It was evidently, first, to show the Catholics the inutility of any future applications to the king through his confidential servants in England:—Secondly, to raise to themselves, by a variety of artifices, a Protestant party, which, under pretence of difficulties in the execution of the measure, should effectually intercept the benignity of the king towards his Catholic subjects, and by that means prevent them from rendering the crown independent of them (the ministers).

However their intentions may, or may not directly have affected the crown, they were directly calculated to alienate the affections of the Roman

Catholics from the cause of government; to make them despair of a parliamentary remedy; to induce them to throw themselves into any courses, and to adopt any principles, which gave them a prospect of deliverance from an oppressive servitude under insolent and perfidious masters. The natural bias of men's minds is, to be adverse to that which is adverse to them; to turn away with disgust from institutions in which they have no interest, which show them no kindness, and afford them no hope. It is natural for men in this situation, as it were, to seek refuge in new ideas, and in a new order of things. Nobody will contend that innovation in itself has no charms, and offers no temptations; much less that there is nothing alluring and delusive in the novelties of the day. They certainly hold out to unpitied misery and insulted oppression, if a false, yet a brilliant and speedy promise of relief and of revenge.

Give me leave, therefore, to say, that it is something to boast of, that all these natural propensities have been counteracted. While men in other countries, from mere satiety and restlessness of disposition, are set upon desperate experiments, and go in quest of untried benefits, it is somewhat remarkable that the Catholics, that is to say, the people of Ireland, provoked by every species of injustice and insult, should be led away by no extravagant desire of change. It indicates a most

happy temper in themselves, and, let me say, some good fortune, some good intention, in those who have conducted them.

Most of those who have been driven to establish, or to recover constitutional privileges by popular efforts, have found it necessary to pursue their object by a relaxation of the principles of authority. If the Roman Catholics shall have taken the direct contrary course, and shall have sought their own liberties by fortifying, instead of sapping, the foundations of civil order in general, and those of their own country in particular, their ambition, if ambition it is, is not ignoble. It might perhaps be entitled to the name of public virtue, and that in no mean degree. By these principles, however, have the Catholics been conducted. Whether they can justify it to their own cause; whether they have not been scrupulous, rather than wise and virtuous, time will show. If a government did not think such a conduct worthy of reward, they might at least be expected to forgive it. Yet such is the conduct, which the government of Ireland have thought fit to pursue with inveterate rancour, and to brand with every sort of opprobrium. Notwithstanding this treatment;—notwithstanding all the irritations of a recent contest, and all the confusions of a distracted country, the Roman Catholics of Ireland retain all the dispositions, all the principles, all the habits, which the

most lenient government, acting with foresight, could have produced. It is a circumstance of good fortune which cannot be expected to last for ever. While time is, let it be used.

Extract of a letter from the

ABBÉ EDGEWORTH [7] TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

January, 1793.

You are undoubtedly surprised, my dear and honoured friend, that, whilst the clergy of France are flocking to England for shelter and support, I should remain here amidst the ruins of this afflicted, persecuted Church. Indeed, I often wished to fly to that land of true liberty and solid peace, and to share with others at your hospitable board, where, to be strangers and in distress is a sufficient title. But Almighty God has baffled all my measures, and ties me down to this land of horrors, by chains which I have not liberty

[7] The Abbé Edgeworth de Fermont, descended from an Irish family, but bred in France. He was at this time confessor to the Princess Elizabeth, sister of Louis XVIth, but soon became remarkable from having attended that monarch on the scaffold, January 21, 1793.

to shake off. The case is, the Malheureux Maitre charges me not to quit the country, for that I am the person he intends to employ to prepare him for death, in case the iniquity of the nation should commit that last act of cruelty and parricide. In these circumstances, I must endeavour to prepare myself too for death; for I am convinced that popular rage will not allow me to survive one hour after that tragic act. But I am resigned; my life is of no consequence; the preservation of it, or the shedding of my blood, is not connected with the happiness or misery of millions. Could my life save him "qui positus est in ruinam et resurrectionem multorum," I should willingly lay it down, and should not then die in vain. "Fiat voluntas tua!" Receive the unfeigned assurance, perhaps for the last time, of my respect and affection for you, which I hope even death shall not destroy.

Draught of a letter to the LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND, *proposed for adoption to the* RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS, *in February*, 1793, *by the* RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

YOUR letters for a good while past import that great and growing discontents subsist amongst a very large and important description of the people committed by his Majesty to your charge.

I have laid these letters before the rest of the king's confidential servants, who have taken the purport of them into their most serious consideration.

They have instructed me to state to your Excellency, that; knowing, as we all do, that nothing is nearer to his Majesty's heart than the welfare, tranquillity, and concord of the people of his kingdom of Ireland; when divisions and animosities prevail in that part of his dominions, our conduct would ill correspond with the intentions and dispositions of our sovereign, if we were to be indifferent spectators on such a critical occasion. If any serious evil should arise from these discontents, it is neither in our wish, nor in our power, to shift (so far as our means extend) the

responsibility on others; at the same time we are, as we ever have been, extremely cautious, by any authoritative interposition, of deranging the operation of the king's servants in Ireland, or of entering much into the detail of any local business, of which our view must rather be of a general nature than minute, particular, and temporary. We never would wish to precipitate your Excellency, with whose prudence we are well acquainted, into any measure unsuitable to the actual posture of affairs, or to the temper of the public at the moment.

It is a matter of great sorrow to the king, that at a time, when his Majesty receives the most cordial assurances from many quarters, of the entire satisfaction of the people in the constitution of their country, there should exist in any part of the dominions of his crown, a strong spirit of uneasiness and discontent; not, as it should seem, against the principles of our happy constitution, or against the powers and rights of any member of which it is composed; but because very large descriptions of his subjects, of all conditions and fortunes, are wholly excluded from its benefits; and that this exclusion is by them considered in itself as a great oppression, and as the source of many others.

These discontents affect the minds of the Catholics of Ireland, who, his Majesty is informed,

compose in number at least two-thirds of that his kingdom. It is likewise understood, that many very weighty and considerable persons amongst his Majesty's Protestant subjects there would, on their parts, be as much dissatisfied, if the franchises which they enjoy under the constitution were communicated to the other description of their fellow citizens.

We are persuaded that nothing, without the most cogent motives, should be undertaken against the opinions of those who have so just a claim to every attention, even when their sentiments are not supported by what may appear to us the most valid and satisfactory reasons. But in considering this very important business upon a balance of the discontents which may arise on either side, it will be necessary for us to be well informed concerning the dispositions of his Majesty's Protestant subjects; that is, whether all, or the far major part of them, are such decided enemies of their Catholic brethren, as to make the communication of some of the ordinary franchises of subjects a cause of general discontent to them; or whether there be not some difference of opinion amongst the Protestants of Ireland upon this subject; insomuch that, by refusing this communication to Catholics, in conformity to some opinions, however respectable, the majority of the nation may have its discontents aggra-

vated, without a proportionate gratification to the smaller descriptions, by many of whom this exclusive system may be very faintly desired, and by some perhaps it may not be desired at all.

To have sufficient light to decide on this point, we wish in particular to be informed whether you have reason to believe that these discontents of the Catholics are only transient, and nothing more than the effect of seditious intrigues against the natural interest and general disposition of the people, so as by a resolved civil opposition, and the reasonable display of a military power, the people would become quiet and contented under their total exclusion from the benefits of the British constitution.

If this be your Excellency's opinion, and that of the rest of his Majesty's servants in Ireland, you will have the goodness to favour us with the grounds of it. For if, on the contrary, this their declared object is so steadily desired by the Catholics of Ireland, as that, though under the influence of terror they may desist from the immediate pursuit, the matter would rankle with new and increased animosity in their minds, and would be ready, on any favourable opportunity, to break out, it is not easy to see what is got by silencing that multitude for the present, even if menaces and demonstrations of military force should, with certainty, produce that effect.

It is therefore wished, that your Excellency would be pleased to state an opinion, with the grounds, whether this exclusion may with safety be made perpetual, and continued as a declared fundamental principle of the king's government, or can only last for a time. If it can be only temporary, it will be proper to state the circumstances which, in the present state of things, may make it advisable for his Majesty to deny to himself, and to his present servants, the satisfaction and glory of gratifying the wishes, and meliorating the condition, of a very large, and we are willing to believe on the testimony of their professions and conduct, a very loyal part of his Majesty's subjects. Reasons may exist, but we confess they are not so apparent to us, why the repeal of the two, not very ancient, acts of parliament which cause this discontent should be reserved to other times, and other persons, who may have their difficulties also, and even many greater than the present, and not so many favourable means of quieting the people with grace and effect.

We are informed, that if these acts should be repealed, or something in that nature done, some gentlemen express their apprehensions that there would be a Catholic parliament. We wish your Excellency, by the best enquiries you can make, to ascertain whether, before the making of these disfranchising acts, the parliament was Catholic, in

the whole or any part, or in what proportion, or whether in any proportion. Your Excellency will likewise be pleased to enquire of those who are best acquainted with the state of the freehold interests in the several counties, so far as they are uninfluenced by Protestant landlords, and to state how many Catholic members might probably be chosen by Catholic freeholders, even if such members were qualified:—that the value of this alarm (if it exists) may be appreciated.

If it be true that the Catholics of Ireland are not faithful subjects to his Majesty, but are preparing for rebellion, and plotting the ruin of that constitution in which they only pretend to wish the benefits, the case will be very serious, and other precautions will be necessary than the refusal of favours. The public safety must be looked to; for three millions of people disposed to rebel, is no trifling consideration. We have reason to rest assured, in your Excellency's zeal for the king's service, that you would inform us of every circumstance that indicated the design of such a rebellion. But conscious of the wisdom and benignity of the king's government, we are slow to believe ill of any of his subjects. At the same time, not inattentive to what falls from any persons of weight, we wish your Excellency to acquaint me with what symptoms of such a rebellious disposition have been observed in the leading

Catholics, laick or ecclesiastick, since they have been admitted to give tests of their allegiance to his Majesty, suitable to their prejudices; in what instances you have observed the spirit of religious bigotry increasing amongst them; whether more books of theological controversy, or in a more acrimonious strain than usual, have been published; whether the sermons preached in their congregations be unusually inflammatory; whether you have been able to trace correspondences with foreign powers towards their support in a rebellious practice. If you have discovered any thing suspicious in their leading men, and tending towards such treasonable practice, you have unquestionably called upon them, and you will relate what account they have given of their conduct. Your Excellency also will not fail to communicate to us the names of their accusers, and on what they ground their accusations; that a strict enquiry may be made into the facts, in order that provision may be made for the safety of the state on the one hand, or that justice be done to the subject on the other. Rebellions cannot be lightly talked or thought of.

As to the theoretic opinions concerning government, with which the minds of men have been for some time past unfortunately disturbed, you will inform us whether it be amongst the Catholics chiefly, that these mischievous political doctrines

have gained ground, or whether they only partake of the infection with others of his Majesty's subjects, who were never very numerous, and, we hope, are now recovering from their delusions. If this latter be the case, though these wild doctrines cannot too much be discountenanced, any degree of rigour employed on that account towards the Roman Catholics of Ireland, who have some more plausible causes of discontent than the others, would, we apprehend, be no cure for that distemper which affects the people promiscuously; but would rather appear the search for a pretext for proceeding against them in a manner not so suited to the fairness and equity of the king's government.

His Majesty cherishes the established Church of Ireland (the same with that of England) with a regard at least equal to that of any person whatsoever. The king is thus disposed, not only from his great trust in the protection of that church, to him a powerful and serious motive, but he is further engaged by a particular conviction of its excellence, and a sincere affection and attachment to it. But he cannot so far give way to the less considerate zeal of some, (whose principles, however, he values and commends,) as to think that all those of his Irish subjects who had not made a timely reformation of their religious sentiments, and who have still the misfortune to adhere to the

prejudices of their ancestors, for a long succession of ages rooted in their country, are, on account of a weakness not uncommon in mankind, and not indicating any mischievous disposition, to be wholly excluded from his paternal regard and affection.

If the only fault of the majority of his Majesty's Irish subjects, be only a passionate desire of meliorating their civil condition into that which is the envied lot of the minority, it seems to be no unnatural wish; and it can furnish no sufficient reason to his Majesty for employing the forces, with which he is entrusted by the constitution, to the purpose of coercing and intimidating those who supplicate for an interest in that constitution, nor to use it for the purpose of compelling, by arms, that immense portion of his people of Ireland to correct their erroneous opinions in religion, or to enforce penalties upon them for continuing under the yoke of their ancient prejudices. Such a course, in the end, his Majesty is convinced, can answer no useful purpose in true religion or in sound politics.

They in Ireland whom his Majesty honors with his confidence, and all of those who, for their merits, (which are fully felt and acknowledged,) have been distinguished by marks of his royal favour and countenance, will not the less be disposed to continue their very acceptable services;

because, whilst he gives to them a cheerful preference, and marks them as the first objects of his favour, he comprehends the whole of his subjects in his constitutional regards. It is to be rather hoped, that, instead of inflaming prejudices, they will themselves be mediators between warm parties, that, by their ability and patience, they will assuage passions and conciliate affections, and cooperate with his Majesty in promoting concord in their country.

There are no discussions between parties that his Majesty is not willing should be attentively and impartially heard; and nothing shall be wanting on our part to promote the welfare of Ireland; but, if persons of great natural authority in that kingdom should, without making any direct and supported charge on their countrymen, persist in excluding them from their share in the benefits of the British constitution, and should find no way for their own security, but in rendering the state of the rest of their fellow-citizens very different from that of free subjects, it ought to be known that any modes of terror and coercion, on that subject, have neither origin or countenance from any of his Majesty's servants here, or (that we can learn) from any considerable persons in this nation.

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY GRATTAN TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

March 20, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

The popery bill[8] this day came from the Lords, and was agreed to by the Commons, with its silly amendments. One amendment raised the qualification to carry arms from £100 to £300, as if any man who had only £299 should expose his property to the highwayman and housebreaker. It was proposed by Fitzgibbon in that spirit of peevish littleness which prompts him to offend where he dare not resist. On the whole, those labours which in the last year appeared hopeless, and were arduous and perilous, are now crowned. You have reason to applaud your own conduct and enterprize, and to deride those inhospitable and bigoted attacks which, in the former year, were directed against your cause and your exertions. I don't think England can call Ireland Bœotia, nor yet a land of slaves, while the name of your family exists in the success of its labours, or the fruits of its genius. You saw the debates in the Lords. The Bishop of Killaloe[9] asserted the

[8] 33rd Geo. III. c. 21. [9] Dr. Bernard.

liberality of his country and his philosophy; his exertion was a little dashed with the enthusiast, as Fitzgibbon's was with the attorney; but the enthusiast had the advantage. The bishop, who had no law, was the statesman; the lawyer, who had no religion, was the bigot. You would have been amused with those debates; you, who heard the debates, and were witness to the horrid shouts, of the last session. On the credit of the popery bill, the Irish administration has stood. I think, however, that the Catholics have not the least faith in them. They consider the concession as the immediate order of the king. I am not sorry for it, because I am a friend to the monarchy, and I am no friend to the Irish ministers. The session hitherto has been entirely engrossed by the Catholic bill, and the business of supply, army and militia. Our principle was to give Government (ill as we thought of the Irish ministers) every thing they themselves desired; putting in at the same time, our claim for certain concessions to be discussed when the immediate exigences were fulfilled. It was a slow, but, I am convinced, an effectual, and surely a safe method of redressing grievances.

I write to your father by to-morrow's post.

Believe me, my dear sir,

Yours most sincerely,

H. GRATTAN.

RIGHT HON. HENRY GRATTAN TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Dublin, March 25, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

You judge perfectly right in supposing the Roman Catholics have gotten every thing; they have so. They have gotten the greater part in possession, and the remainder in a certain and approaching reversion. The Lords were almost unanimous. Bishops voted, and some spoke for toleration; even our chancellor[1] voted for the bill, though he spoke against it. He had, at the opening of the session, rebuked the king for his credulity to the groundless (as he thought) statements of the Catholic petition; on the bill, he left the department of the law, and resorted to that of a school divine; he tried to prove from canons, that a Roman Catholic must ever wish to depose a Protestant king, and ever have an interest distinct from a Protestant people. Under this impression, he thought it fatal to give the Roman Catholics seats in parliament, but was ready, and thought it safe, to give them the other powers and privileges of the constitution; and this concession he declared was in consideration of the times. In his abhor-

[1] Lord Fitzgibbon, afterwards Earl of Clare.

rence of his father's religion, he forgot all respect for his own, and personally and petulantly attacked a Protestant bishop, speaking with unusual liberality and talent. He forgot also that, by his speech, he diminished the reconciliatory effect of the bill, by thus informing the Catholics that though the Irish law ceased to be their enemy, the Irish minister continued to be so. Our Speaker[2] was supposed to have spoken best against the Catholic bill; he did so, but said nothing. He predicated the immediate ruin of the state, and he prophesied the approaching ruin of the church. His grounds were a supposed disregard in the Catholics for the obligation of an oath. The day or two after his speech, he proposed to save the state from the evil of their votes, by resorting to their oaths; and introduced into the bill, as a satisfactory oath, their own declaration. The Irish administration were saved by their enemies, the Catholics and the opposition; had they not yielded to the one and been spared by the other, the treachery of their own ranks would have destroyed them; but those exertions necessary to ruin a minister must have produced a fever. I believe we were right in going considerable lengths to support the former, rather than produce the latter. The minister supported our great measure; we supported him. We have,

[2] Mr. Foster.

among measures of expense and power, passed a militia bill. I own I was very glad that measure was postponed until the Catholic bill was safe; and had not been sorry it had been postponed until the impending settlement was adjusted. But in that bill it was curious to observe the folly of religion; (I mean of Protestant bigotry without any religion;) they had introduced the bill with a clause, disqualifying in its effect any Catholic from being in the militia, unless he had £10 a year freehold, or £100 in money, or could get a licence. As the Protestant ascendancy had once conceived a free constitution without a people, so here it conceived a militia without men. They thought they had gotten, under the name of a national militia, an army against a great portion of the nation. However, the clause was stricken out, and men became admissible in the militia. I mentioned a settlement; to make it, I understand, certain officers proceed to England; so, it is understood here, they are to settle constitution and commerce; some of them are not enemies to both, but it is an anxious undertaking. The object can only be to give satisfaction; but to do so, they must do something that is substantial. I remember, in 1780, a *perpetual* mutiny bill in Ireland was called a settlement, and was that kind of settlement which employed two years to agitate and to

unsettle. There are some bills, the consideration of which has been postponed, that they, I suppose, might be arranged. They are a pension, place, and responsibility bill. The principle of all of them is indispensable, and they ought to be substantially and honestly granted. 'Twere idle to begin an arrangement without any view, save only to gratify; and then so to cripple the measures as to inflame the passions and entail opposition from session to session. In short, we are (and when I say *we*, I mean a great phalanx of the opposition,) so situated with respect to the great principle, (I speak not of the mechanism of these bills,) that a substantial compliance must be very grateful to us, and an inadequate, or evasive measure, intolerable. You may have an opportunity to do us service. Our ambassadors sail to-morrow, —I hope to do good.

I wrote to your son last post; he has had a triumph. He stood the friend of the Catholic in both countries, when it appeared fruitless in the one and formidable in the other.

Mrs. Grattan joins me in requesting to be remembered to Mrs. Burke, and begs not to be forgotten to you.

I am, my dear sir,
With the highest regard and admiration,
Yours most sincerely,
H. GRATTAN.

THE KING OF POLAND TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Grodno, June 12, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

I don't know by what chance, or irregularity of post, your letter of the 12th April last was not delivered to me till yesterday. It is of importance to me, that you may not impute to any negligence of my part, the delay of my answer. I would not be guilty of it towards anybody, and much the less towards you, to whom I owe a particular regard, and my best wishes; in acknowledgment of that which you testify to me, as well as in consequence of that general esteem which is due from everybody to your reputation.

I see, unluckily for me, that to many other qualities which render you respectable, you join that of a prophet; for in the very letter, wherein you have been pleased to congratulate me, two years ago, upon what passed then in Poland, you have thenceforth perceived the cruel misfortunes which do afflict now both my country and myself.

In the midst of my most smarting sorrows, I find no other consolation but the witness of my conscience, and the testimony of virtuous and

enlightened men, like you, sir, that I sought nothing but the good of the nation, and was not willing to wrong anybody; and that, if I am unhappy, it is only because such is the will of the Almighty Disposer of our destiny.

But, as one of the most illustrious models of your eloquence has said, with truth, that the culture of literature softens adversity, as it does embellish prosperity, I not only accept, with pleasure, the offer of a collection of several pieces which you have published at different times, but, moreover, I beg you would not let me wait long for their arrival by delivering them to my envoy.

May your country enjoy long yet your talents, and your sacred patriotism. These are the sincere wishes of your very affectionate

STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS, KING.

FROM THE CHEVALIER DE GRAVE, TO RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Londres, No. 13, Poland St., Oxford St.
ce 14 Aoust, 1793.

MONSIEUR,

A mon arrivée dans ce pays-ci la réponse que vous me fîtes, et l'invitation si honnête dont vous

m'honorâtes, m'engagèrent presque à renoncer au plan que j'avais formé de vivre dans la retraite;—mais la tranquillité de la portion de ma famille restée en France exigeait que je fusse oublié, et comment l'aurai-je été en recevant des marques publiques de votre estime? Je n'ai pu vous exprimer que par écrit toute ma reconnaissance;—peut-être vais-je bientôt quitter l'Angleterre. Vous vous rapellez qu'il y a un an je formais le vœu de me réunir à un parti intérieur décidé à soutenir le roi, la liberté, la sûreté individuelle, et le respect des propriétés; alors il vous paroissait douteux qu'un tel parti pût jamais s'établir en France. J'ignore si l'espérance continue de nous tromper; j'ignore quel sort l'avenir nous prépare; mais je sens que j'emporterai beaucoup de regrets en quittant cette terre hospitalière;—je voudrais n'y pas joindre celui de n'avoir pas eu l'honneur de vous voir et de ne vous avoir pas exprimé de vive-voix les sentiments d'estime, d'attachement, et de respect, avec lesquels,

J'ai l'honneur d'être,
Monsieur,
Votre très humble, et très obéissant serviteur,
P. De Grave.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO WILLIAM WINDHAM, ESQ.[3]

Beconsfield, August 18, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

It is with no small affliction I find that what I feared as probable, is at length become certain, and that, after fluctuating a long time without any system, we have adopted one that, in my opinion, is completely ruinous. I know very well that it may be defended on many plausible topics and principles. All routine, both political and military, is in its favour. It is not, however, the better for that; because neither the present politics, nor the present war, are war and politics of routine. France is strong at arm's length. She is, I am convinced, weakness itself, if you can get to

[3] In this and the other letters to Mr. Windham of the same period, will be found repeated and clear illustrations of Mr. Burke's views relative to the nature of the war, the principles upon which it ought to have been grounded, and the mode in which it ought to be carried on. He conceived that, in these particulars, neither the English government, nor their allies, proceeded upon the true basis; that they committed themselves with France as a nation; whereas, they ought to have attacked a faction in France, and, for that purpose, to have made use of French means;—not exclusively, indeed, but so as to show that they entertained no hostility to her.

grapple with her internally. If you keep on the frontier—if you should even gain all the frontier —she may, if you are resolved to give her time, (which is giving her every thing,) make another frontier; it is indeed nearly ready made. As to getting Dunkirk, it is getting nothing at all. It is a retrograde proceeding. But I shall trouble myself no more in a business, in which I can do little or nothing more than give uneasiness to myself and others. Three things are requisite, all subject to great uncertainty, to make this plan produce any of the effects *we* wish from it:—First, That this nation will be satisfied to continue the war for another year, when it is evident no real impression is made on the body of the French system:—Second, That the allies will hold together:—Third, That they all will, a year hence, mean the ruin of the system in France. All these must happen to make this scheme of war answer any other than the end of a defensive; in the present state of things, with regard to France, the most absurd of all imaginations. If no other is possible, we must submit.

I remember, in the last war, at the taking of St. Eustatius, the most general illumination in my memory. Now!—It looks as if the ministers were afraid of the people's growing too fond of their measures. This American is an ugly and thorny affair. It was in time of war, I was

always of opinion, we should feel the loss of the colonies.

I am very sorry we cannot see you,—but I do not know whether we are to regret it either. The efforts of the enemy in your counties ought to be resisted.

Ever most truly and affectionately yours,

EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO WILLIAM WINDHAM, ESQ.

August 23, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am very happy in this advantage[4], though with you, I wish it had been less dearly bought. Since this unfortunate object of Dunkirk is chosen, it is of the last importance that we should not add to the disgrace of a bad choice, that of an unfortunate execution. This stroke, I must take it for granted, was necessary for our advancing to Dunkirk. It looks as if neither we, nor the Dutch, were sufficiently apprised of the real force of the enemy.

[4] Mr. Burke here alludes to the action at Lincelles, on the 18th of August, in which the English guards particularly distinguished themselves, completely routing the French force opposed to them, and taking a strong redoubt.

What a dreadful affair is this of St. Domingo. In horror with regard to the act, and as a cause of indignation against the actors, it exceeds the late massacre of Paris. The systematic plan of extermination the Jacobins have pursued in that fine island, and which they intended for every other island, seems to me to form the top of the climax of their wickedness. Their partisans here affect to shudder if twenty men are killed in a skirmish, and yet they are enthusiasts in favour of those who have reduced sedition, assassination, general robbery, general massacre, and general combustion, into a sort of regular art, and a sort of morality. Every day we live will convince thinking men, that there are evils to which the calamities of war are blessings. Well! we have done very properly in a vigorous opposition to Jacobinism under the plausible disguise of peace. Had it gone on, in my opinion, the burning down of half of London, after the massacre of half its inhabitants, would have been a cheap composition for the whole kingdom. I do not flatter myself, that the English branch of the Jacobin family is a jot better than the French. If it were fifty per cent. better, I should still think it a most abominable thing. We must continue to be vigorous *alarmists*. Mr. Coke's[5] conduct shows to what

[5] M.P. for Norfolk, afterwards Earl of Leicester.

the spirit of faction may carry a man. But these rich men must not be suffered to be a prey to their own folly and madness. I trust in God, that some will be found who will provide better for their safety than they do themselves. These squirrels are charmed by the rattle-snake, and would jump into his mouth, save your neighbour, *Cape saxa manu, cape robora, pastor, &c. &c.* They ask what they are to *get* by this war? Why! the wretches, they get their existence,—they get the power of playing the fool with impunity by it,—and is that nothing?

God bless you, and many thanks. We have got the turtle, and thank Mrs. Lukin.

Ever faithfully yours,

EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE COMTE DE MERCY.

August, 1793.

SIR,

I am infinitely obliged to your Excellency for your generous intentions with regard to my young relation, Nagle. Whenever he comes to possess enough of the French or German languages to be fit to be presented to your Excellency, he will

solicit that honour, if his military destination should permit him to profit of your condescension and goodness. General Count Dalton has been so very kind as to give him his first commission in his own regiment. I hope that, in course of time, your Excellency's powerful protection, and his own good behaviour, in endeavouring to merit the enviable distinction, will ensure his future advancement. It is a thing about which I am anxious, as I am much deceived if he is not a good lad.

I shall always recollect, with the highest satisfaction, the morning which you did me the honour to spend at my house; and if it has given anything like a favourable impression of me and my intentions to one of your Excellency's judgment, experience, and knowledge of men and affairs, I shall remember it with as much pride as gratitude. If any thing in my conversation has merited your regard, I think it must be the openness and freedom with which I commonly express my sentiments. You are too wise a man not to know that such freedom is not without its use; and that by encouraging it, men of true ability are enabled to profit by hints thrown out by understandings much inferior to their own, and which they who first produce them are, by themselves, unable to turn to the best account. I am sure there is one circumstance which will induce your Excellency to forgive the freedom that I used formerly, or that

I may now use; it is the perfect deference with which every thing I suggest is submitted to your judgment.

I flatter myself, too, that you are pleased with my zeal in this cause. I certainly look upon it to be the cause of humanity itself. I perfectly concur with you in that opinion, provided I understand, as I trust I do, the true object of the war. I do not exclude from amongst the just objects of such a confederacy as the present, the ordinary securities which nations must take against their mutual ambition, let their internal constitutions be of what nature they will. But the present evil of our time, though in a great measure an evil of ambition, is not one of common political ambition, but in many respects entirely different. It is not the cause of nation as against nation; but, as you will observe, the cause of mankind against those who have projected the subversion of that order of things, under which our part of the world has so long flourished, and indeed, been in a progressive state of improvement; the limits of which, if it had not been thus rudely stopped, it would not have been easy for the imagination to fix. If I conceive rightly of the spirit of the present combination, it is not at war with France, but with Jacobinism. They cannot think it right, that a second kingdom should be struck out of the system of Europe, either by destroying its independence,

or by suffering it to have such a *form* in its independence, as to keep it, as a perpetual fund of revolutions, in the very centre of Europe, in that region which alone touches almost every other, and must influence, even where she does not come in contact. As long as Jacobinism subsists there, in any form, or under any modification, it is not, in my opinion, the gaining a fortified place or two, more or less, or the annexing to the dominion of the allied powers this or that territorial district, that can save Europe, or any of its members. We are at war with a *principle*, and with an example, which there is no shutting out by fortresses, or excluding by territorial limits. No lines of demarcation can bound the Jacobin empire. It must be extirpated in the place of its origin, or it will not be confined to that place. In the whole circle of military arrangements and of political expedients, I fear that there cannot be found any sort of *merely defensive plan* of the least force, against the effect of the *example* which has been given in France. That *example* has shown, for the first time in the history of the world, that it is very possible to subvert the whole frame and order of the best constructed states, by corrupting the common people with the spoil of the superior classes. It is by that instrument that the French orators have accomplished their purpose, to the ruin of France; and it is by that instrument that,

if they can establish themselves in France, (however broken or curtailed by themselves or others,) sooner or later, they will subvert every government in Europe. The effect of *erroneous doctrines* may be soon done away; but the example of *successful pillage* is of a nature more permanent, more applicable to use, and a thing which speaks more forcibly to the interests and passions of the corrupt and unthinking part of mankind, than a thousand theories. Nothing can weaken the lesson contained in that example, but to make as strong an example on the other side. The leaders in France must be made to feel, in order that all the rest there, and in other countries, may be made to see that such spoil is no sure possession. It will be proper to let the leaders of such factions know that when they shake the property of others, they can never convert their spoil into property in their own favour; either in the specific object of their robbery, or in any representative which they may choose to give it. The people at large, in all countries, ought to be made sensible, that the symbols of public robbery never can have the sanction and the currency that belong exclusively to the symbols of public faith. If any government should be settled in France, upon any other idea than that of the faithful restitution of all property of all descriptions, and that of the rigorous and exemplary punishment of the princi-

pal authors and contrivers of its ruin, I am convinced to a certainty, that property, and along with property, government, must fall in every other state in Europe, in the same manner in which they have both fallen in France. I am convinced that twenty years would be too long a period to fix for such an event, under the operation of such causes as are now at work. As to France itself, no form of government which human wit can contrive, or human force compel, can have a longer duration there than those miserable tottering constitutions, which have been erected on false foundations, for those four years past have had; because the new, or the restoration of the old government, will be deprived of that solid foundation which connects property with the safety of the state. If the old proprietors (of whatever name) be not restored, an immense mass of possession will be thrown into hands who have been enriched by the subversion of the monarchy, and who never can be trusted for its support. Nothing, I am persuaded, can be done, with the smallest prospect of permanence, but by completely counteracting all those crude systems with which mankind have been surfeited; and by putting every thing, without exception, as nearly as possible, upon its former basis. When this, (the short and simple method,) for which we have no need to have recourse to abstruse philosophy or intricate politics, is done, we may then

talk with safety upon some practical principles of reforming what may be amiss; with the comfortable assurance to honest, who are the only wise men, that if they should not be able to make any reformation whatsoever in the ancient order of things, the worst abuses which ever attended it would be ten thousand times better for the people than all the boasted reforms in the scheme of innovation.

It is very fortunate for those who may have the happiness of contributing to the settlement of France, (in which your Excellency may have a share, which I envy you,) that the fraudulent currency founded upon this robbery has, of itself, sunk so very low, as to leave but one, and that a very short step, to its utter annihilation. The utter destruction of assignats, and the restoration of order in Europe, are one and the same thing. A reasonable public credit, and some retribution to those who have suffered by its destruction, may be hoped for, when this immense mass of fraud and violence, which has usurped its place, is totally destroyed, so as not to leave the slightest trace of its ever having existed.

It is the contempt of property, and the setting up against its principle certain pretended advantages of the state, (which, by the way, exists only for its conservation,) that has led to all the other evils which have ruined France, and brought all

Europe into the most imminent danger. The beginning of the whole mischief was a false idea that there is a difference in property, according to the description of the persons who held it under the laws; and that the despoiling a minister of religion, is not the same robbery with the pillage of other men. They who, through weakness, gave way to the ill-designs of bad men in that confiscation, were not long before they practically found their error. The spoil of the royal domain soon followed the seizure of the estates of the church. The *appanages* of the king's brothers immediately came on the heels of the usurpation of the royal domain; the property of the nobility survived but a short time the *appanages* of the princes of the blood-royal. At length the monied and the moveable property tumbled on the ruin of the immovable property;—and at this day, no magazine, from the warehouses of the East India Company to the grocer's and the baker's shop, possesses the smallest degree of safety. I am perfectly persuaded that there does not exist the smallest chance, under the most favourable issue of military operations, of restoring monarchy, order, law, and religion, in France, but by doing justice, under wise regulations, to those ecclesiastics who have been robbed of their estates by the most wicked and the most foolish of all men;—by

those who took the lead in the constituent assembly.

In this opinion, give me leave to assure your Excellency, I am far from single. It is the decided sense of all thinking men, who are well-affected to the cause of order in this country. The necessity of providing for such ecclesiastics as are in the British dominions, has often led the conversation to that subject. We have had opportunities of knowing and considering them in all points of view; and if their re-establishment were not a valid claim of justice, yet their personal merits, and the rules of sound policy, would strongly recommend it. We did not believe, before we had an opportunity of seeing it realized before our eyes, that, in such a multitude of men, so much real virtue had existed in the world. We are convinced, that a number of persons so disposed, and so qualified as they are, if restored to their country, their property, and the influence which property in good hands carries with it, would be a necessary supplement to the use of arms; and that under a wise administration, they might do great things indeed for restoring France to the civilized world. Without this help, such a deplorable havoc is made in the minds of men (both sexes) in France, still more than in the external order of things, and the evil is so great and

spreading, that a remedy is impossible on any other terms.

Perhaps to a mind formed like that of your Excellency to give a preference to that kind of policy which is most connected with generosity, honour, and justice, the opinions of people in England ought to have some weight; partly, that we cannot be supposed influenced in this point by the spirit of sect; and partly, because we may be supposed to have made a sort of equitable purchase of a right to a voice in their affairs. The maintenance of these worthy and meritorious persons, scanty as it is for each individual, has already cost us upwards of seventy thousand pounds sterling. Unfortunately, this kind of resource cannot continue long. Surely it is as reasonable that they should be maintained from their own property, as from yours, or from our English charity.

It is with a real satisfaction, and which highly enhances the pleasure we feel from the glory of your arms, that you have gone before me in the restitution of some kinds of property in Condé and Valenciennes. If Providence should so far favour the allied arms, that the whole of the French Netherlands should be reduced, the restitution of all kinds of ecclesiastical estates would form a very essential resource for many that are upon your and upon our hands.

Since I have taken the liberty of troubling you so far, you will excuse me if, once for all, I trespass a little longer on your generous indulgence. There is matter essential enough to justify a good deal of discourse. I shall, however, touch only on a very few heads, which I leave entirely to your Excellency's more mature consideration.

It is a thing singular in our age, and, I believe, without example in any, that in so large and important a part of Europe as France, no person, and no body politic whatsoever, is recognized in the character of its lawful government, or as representing that government. It is not necessary to point out to one of your sagacity, the fatal consequences of this state of things, and its effect upon the reputation of the great powers engaged in this war. These powers appear, with regard to France, in no other way than in the light of an enemy to the nation universally; and not, as when they made the declaration of last summer, as the enemy only of a pernicious faction tyrannizing in that country; a light in which no belligerent power ever did appear, if he could possibly avoid it. Indeed, not to recognize the government in the legal successor to the monarchy, is *virtually to acknowledge the usurpation*, and to justify the murder, or, what is worse than the murder, the deposition and pretended trial of the king. I am afraid, too, that it is a principal cause of the

dreadful treatment of the now king, and particularly that of the queen, whose situation, grief, horror, and indignation, leave me no power of describing; nor is it necessary to any one, much less to you. Several of the most sensible and dispassionate observers are astonished at this procedure. They are astonished at the situation of the brothers of the late king,—two mild and benevolent princes, and worthy of a better destiny. They feel the same as to the nobility of France, who have comported themselves so as to merit the esteem and respect of all honourable and feeling minds. It is wonderful that, amongst such a vast multitude of gentlemen as we have seen here, some of them, too, very young, and who have not had time to have their principles confirmed, not one of them, notwithstanding the pressure of very urgent circumstances, has been known to do a single low and unworthy action. These, as far as we know, are treated, some with more, some with less attention. The persons are more considered than the cause; none are taken up as our natural allies, and as sufferers in a cause which we have in common. They are treated just as fugitives or exiles in an ordinary local and domestic dispute, in which there is no general concern. This, in my opinion, both with regard to the princes, and the crown party in France, is a dangerous mistake. The late king

fell, because the rebels thought that in him they should be able to extinguish the monarchy, as they conceived that the regards of other powers were personal only, and not political. To say the truth, appearances seem too much to favour that opinion. They are, therefore, encouraged to take every step, which their malice, baseness, and wicked policy can suggest, with the queen, and those precious parts of the royal family which are in their hands. As to those abroad, they conceive that no interest is taken in them; and that the sole objects of any sort of care are those whom they may treat as they please. They would cease to heap indignities on those personages, and hourly to threaten them with death, if they saw that the monarchy was treated as existing in all, who, by the laws and by proximity of blood, had an interest in it. The monarchy must exist somewhere in act and representation; but the throne cannot be represented by a prison. Its virtue and operation must be where it can act and appear, if not with suitable dignity, at least with freedom. Monsieur is, by the reason and necessity of the case, (stronger than all law,) regent of that kingdom. If I were to speak my wishes, and what would perhaps be best, if France were any way settled, the queen would be regent. What is there to prevent it, if that event, which cannot be brought about but by the great powers,

(I mean the settlement of France,) should take place? In the mean time, the monarchy, as well as the monarch, ought not to be reputed to be imprisoned in the Conciergerie, and all the states of the kingdom to suffer a total eclipse.

It is to the Emperor that the world looks for protection of the cause of all government, in the protection of the monarchy of France. His personal virtues, his rank in Europe, his relation to the queen-dowager and the young king, make him the fittest to authorize this arrangement provisionally. No person can now, or hereafter, hope to be regent, or any thing else, against his will. The French monarchy, if it ever can be restored, languishing, feeble, and tottering, with an infant king, and a convalescent royalty, will, for a long time, be rather an object of protection than of jealousy, in any of its magistracies, to the Emperor, or to any foreign power.

Excuse, sir, this long letter. My mind has for some time suffered too much anxiety and agitation to enable me properly to compress and digest my thoughts. I cannot see the dignity of a great kingdom, and, with its dignity, all its virtue, imprisoned or exiled, without great pain. I cannot help making their case my own, and that of my friends who adhere to the same cause; and whilst I feel my share in the common gratitude of Europe to his imperial Majesty, to his ministers

and his generals, for the security which, for the time, we enjoy like the rest of mankind, I look for the most of future service to the same quarter from whence we have received most for the time past.

Be pleased, sir, to do me the honour to accept my assurances of the most respectful attachment, and believe me,

Sir, your Excellency's most obedient
and faithful humble servant,
EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO SIR GILBERT ELLIOT [5].

September 22, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

When I wrote to you, I did not imagine that your letter had expressed so strong a wish, as on reading it over again I find it did, that I should go to town. I should, however, be happy to go, not only to town, but to the remotest part of Europe, or of Asia, if I thought I could be of the smallest use

[5] Afterwards raised to the peerage, and created Earl of Minto, in 1813.

in this momentous crisis of human affairs. But a letter which M. Cazalès received from Mon. Lesardier, a gentleman of Poitou, and connected with the principal people there; made me almost despair that any thing will be done in a way correspondent to any ideas of mine, or in which, of course, I can be of the least service.

I cannot help thinking that we are got again on the wrong tack, and that we are resolved, either to consider ourselves as in war with the whole nation of France, merely on common political points, or that we have taken up some of the republican factions in order to establish their power, and to crush the remainder of the royalists in that unhappy country. If I understand at all the true spirit of the present contest, we are engaged in a civil war; but on a far larger scale, and on far more important objects than civil wars have generally extended themselves to, or comprehended. I consider the royalists of France, or as they are (perhaps as properly) called, the aristocrats, as of the part which we have taken in this civil war. I regard, therefore, the abandoning them, exactly in the same light of morality and policy as I should, (had I lived in the time of Charles I., and served in the king's army in Yorkshire,) the voluntary sacrifice of the army of Sir Bevil Granville, or any other royalists serving in the west.

Strongly impressed with the soundness and justness of this idea, I have always looked on the proceedings in Poitou with greater interest, and, in truth, as of more importance than the proceedings of the combined powers on the side of Flanders. These brave and principled men, with very inadequate means, have struggled, and hitherto victoriously, for upwards of six months; and have, in fact, by the mere dint of courage and constancy, done more against the common enemy, and deprived him of a larger extent of territory, than all the regular armies of Europe put together, though they have in the field perhaps not less than 400,000 men, and all the resources of so many mighty kingdoms. They amount to about 40,000, though ill-armed, and ill-provided in every respect. To this moment I understood, that our government had, from the beginning, an earnest desire of communicating with the royalists in that quarter; and only lamented that they had no possible means of doing so, having all sorts of supplies in readiness to send to them. The communication is now obtained. The royal and Christian army has sent us word that they desire to be owned by some great power; that they want to be furnished with arms, &c., and some French leaders of their own principles; that, if they can obtain this recognition and this succour, they shall be able

to resist the common enemy; but if they continue to be discountenanced and unsupported, they are apprehensive that they shall be overpowered;—that the city of Nantz will, with such a countenance, declare in their favour, otherwise not. Certain it is, that, hitherto, the only effect they have seen of the interference of these great powers is, the enabling the Jacobins to send one great army against them from Mentz, and another from Valenciennes. The capture of either of these places has not been of so much advantage to the common cause as the sending of the troops employed there, to extirpate our friends in Poitou, has been of prejudice. By actively assisting the enemy, and by refusing the least countenance to the royal (our own) party, I fear we shall not be free from the guilt, or the mischief, which will accompany the barbarous cruelties and massacres, with which the most savage of all enemies will utterly destroy our friends, together with the country they inhabit. They have begun the incendiary part already. Here is an opening which, if neglected by our government, whether as statesmen or as lovers of mankind, they will one day sorely repent. I understand that the answer given to Monsieur Lesardier was through a young gentleman, who had distinguished himself by some writings in favour of the French revolution. He is now a clerk in office, and has

the department of the gentlemen who are the victims of that revolution delivered over to him. That answer was, I understand, truly discouraging. No politician can make a situation. His skill consists in his well-playing the game dealt to him by fortune, and following the indications given by nature, times, and circumstances. Where can we hope to plant 40,000 men in the heart of the enemies' country at less than a hundred times what the support of this would come to? I know that we were hurried on by the torrent of circumstances to send the body of our forces to Flanders. I don't blame the measure, but indeed I lament it; and am quite sure that the fourth part of these forces, sent to Poitou, would have turned the scale in our favour.

I truly and unreservedly rejoiced at the affair of Toulon; not only on account of the immense and unparalleled advantage of it as a military stroke, but because the war was, at length, put upon a proper footing; the only rational, manly, and honourable footing it can be placed upon. Instead of refusing to acknowledge the ancient, lawful, prescriptive government of that country in the monarchy, the acknowledgment of it by the French republican magistrates of Toulon was made the very condition of our receiving their city and all it contained. The royalists of Poitou are now at that point, to which we ourselves have brought the

republicans of the south. Having acted on the principle of supporting the royal cause, as our own cause, on the Mediterranean, how comes it that we act on the very reverse principle upon the ocean?

It cannot be that we have taken up the wicked and frantic project of what is called the constitution; and that we mean to consider all those as enemies, who were not concerned in that mother-rebellion and all its evil principles. When we were offered such a post and town as Toulon, with a fiduciary deposit of twenty sail of the line, we should have been the most contemptible of pedants and sophists, when the fundamental point was gained, (indeed, whether it was gained or no, does not turn the question,) if we were to chicane with them about their fopperies of a constitution. Lord Hood consulted, I suppose, the humour of the time and place, as a man of sense would. He did not himself talk the *feuillant* language; but he wisely let them talk what language they pleased; which *feuillant* language, however, to do them justice, they spoke only very faintly and very generally. It was a point gained, to get a town, where the fiercest Jacobinism had so long prevailed, to go back so far. By the way, they hoisted the white flag, not the colours of the first revolution.

But if, in such practical affairs, we were to rest upon abstract principles of any kind, we must

give the preference to those of Poitou. Very wisely, and very temperately, they have held out nothing but the general principles of religion, loyalty, and civil order, leaving every thing else to be discussed when Jacobinism, the enemy of all those principles, is driven out of the field. But for us, against the sense of nine in ten, at least, of all the land proprietors, now despoiled and banished, to set up the idol of the constitution, would be a madness equal to that of the makers of that mock constitution. The present, with which we are now at war, is substantially the same; but a little more coherent, uniform, and rational. That pretended constitution was, in truth, the very cause of all the evils which at this moment afflict Europe; and if even it could be set up again (God, of his infinite mercy, avert so great a calamity!) by our arms and politics, be assured, my dear Sir Gilbert, that things would move on again in the very same circle, without the same means of checking them in any part of the course of their revolution. All I can do is, to clear my conscience by leaving nothing said or undone on my part, publicly or privately, to prevent the system of considering the body of the emigrants, and those who hold the same cause in France, as not the real body of that nation. The rest are either to be got under by force, or by tenderly and wisely managing their distemper, according to the circumstances of the

case; but never ought we to take *practically* any steps, by way of curing some symptoms of a distemper, to fix its radical cause for ever.

I take it for granted that I shall embrace you before you go. I assure you I am as heartily concerned as the ministry themselves can be, that they may get out of this arduous war with honour and advantage. The paper I gave you to read at going, shows you how decided I am. Pray send it to me, that I may transmit it to the quarter where it was intended to go. Adieu, my dear friend, with every, the most cordial wish for your success.

Yours, &c.
EDM. BURKE.

I suppose you have got my letter. It was directed as this, to Lord Malmsbury's.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO WILLIAM BURKE, ESQ.

Probably September 15, 1793.

MY DEAR WILLIAM,

Since you left us, what a variety of events have happened! Now they are bad;—now good;—up and down, and with them our poor hearts up and

down also. Such mortals we are, depending for our happiness or misery on the last Gazette. But so it is; and we go on in a perpetual state of fluctuation; following, indeed, our nature, but following not the strongest, but the weakest part of it. But I trust there is some excuse for us, as surely such a crisis in human affairs does not happen in many ages. However, otherwise, I thank God we are all well; at least, not worse than you left us. Cazalès has not heard any news of a long time, which gave him pleasure, but Hood's; because it is the first thing in the war done in the name of the unfortunate king, and not as *general* enemies to France;—indeed, the only thing rightly done, in my opinion. Have you seen the Prince? The translation [6] you have made, in my opinion, will not do without some considerable corrections, because the sense is frequently mistaken; and I do not wonder at it; for besides that, in truth, the very language of France has suffered considerable alterations since you were conversant in French books, the way of thinking of the nation, and the correspondent official and public style, is no longer the same; and there is a perpetual running allusion to events and actions, as well as new laws and customs, which

[6] Mr. William Burke had lately translated the address of Brissot to his constituents. Mr. Edmund Burke wrote a preface, which was published with the translation in 1794.

it is very hard for a man, who has not followed the train of them, rightly to enter into. We are, therefore, not yet in a condition to go to press.

Adieu! my ever dear friend, and believe me ever most affectionately,

Yours, &c.

EDM. BURKE.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

October 7, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

Excuse the trouble I take the liberty of giving you. It arises from my anxiety about that which is the common object of our solicitude. The opening at La Vendée appears to me the most important of any which has happened in this war, and I beg leave to suggest that the first and most vigorous of our efforts ought to be made there. Every thing we have done is in the style of hostility to France, as a nation; without distinction of causes, persons, and parties. Here is a war maintained for more than eight months against Jacobinism. It is its sole principle. They strike at the enemy in his weakest and most vulnerable part. Here, at a comparatively less expense, we

may make an impression likely to be decisive. In other places, with millions of expense and torrents of blood, little progress has been made. I am far from being sure that the expedition talked of for Martinique promises any advantage like a strong push at La Vendée, if we regard the speedy and final issue of the war. That island is in a state very different from what formerly it was; and all operations between the tropics are at an immense expense of human lives. However, let this matter be as it will, I see no incompatibility between the two designs; at any rate, surely, my dear sir, no time ought to be lost in owning that cause, and sending a supply; as well as in calling emigrant officers (with some of the clergy at Jersey) from the Netherlands and Germany. Once more, excuse my earnestness. I am persuaded beyond a doubt, that if La Vendée is not very carefully attended to, and with celerity and vigour, we shall have cause bitterly to repent it.

I have the honour to be, with the most sincere respect and regard, and with the best wishes for the success of this great cause,

My dear sir,
Your most faithful and obedient
humble servant,
EDM. BURKE.

Query:—Whether, as Guadaloupe is as good an

island as Martinique, if not better, and so many difficulties do not seem to attend the acquisition, it might not be right to try that first; always supposing that La Vendée should not supersede both?

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE[7].

Welbeck, October 10, 1793.

MY DEAR BURKE,

Perhaps it had been better that I had *literally* followed your instructions, and acknowledged the receipt of your letter and observations, which arrived here last Thursday, by the return of the post. But you tempted me, and I was seduced. I could not help reading the observations as well as the letter; and although it is my decided intention to confine myself strictly to the latter, I am well aware of the difficulty of adhering to that resolution. I am very much obliged to you for all the objects, and all the purposes, for which you have sent me the paper of observations. I consider it as an additional testimony of the

[7] The letter to which this is an answer, is given in the 7th volume, octavo edition, of the Works.

friendship I have so long had the happiness and credit of possessing; and although, in that point of view, I must insist upon its being wholly unnecessary, I am not the less gratified by it, or the less thankful for it. It is no disgrace to me to admit,—and were it so, I should feel no difficulty in avowing it to you, and indeed to the world,—that my imagination, my feelings, my judgment, my conclusions, do not, and cannot keep pace with yours. I have not the same sensibility, I have not the same fears, I have not the same confidence; but I want not a day of *compulsory* reflection, to make me see the horrors of Jacobinism, and the duty of exerting my best efforts (those I mean which, from their regularity and steadiness, are likely to prove the most lasting,) to resist, subdue, and finally extirpate the diabolical spirit in which it has originated. You may possibly remember my suspicions, my distrust, my dread of the setting up a free constitution in France; not that I envy the French more than you do the blessings of a free government, but because the true cause of liberty is not to be polluted with unhallowed hands. The French, I thought, would be idolaters; they were not capable of being true worshippers; and consequently I dreaded, and with but too much reason, that that sober, discreet, and sound liberty, which has cost us, and must cost every other

country, so much time and so much pains to obtain, would be reviled, would be disregarded, contemned, disgraced, and traduced. I had not the foresight to imagine that the contest would have been so brought on, or have been likely to have the issue with which we have been threatened; but I always thought that the attempt at freedom would not be successful in France, and would materially endanger that of this country. I therefore most perfectly agree with you, in your opinion of the proceedings and doctrines which have produced this mischief abroad, and in your opinion of the war, which I think is for every thing for which it is worth being born into the world. But still the merit of concurring in this sentiment, great as I may be disposed to admit it to be, does not appear to me, upon the sole credit of that authority, sufficient to obliterate from memory the share which those persons who are said to agree with me in principle had, and, in my apprehensions, at this moment continue to have, in supporting and maintaining principles of a similar tendency to those which have brought on this general confusion in France and in Europe. I will act with any man, at any time, in the cause of good order and of civil society; but I am not Christian enough to turn the other cheek to the man who has given me a blow; nor can I lick the hand which has endeavoured to destroy me.

I can forgive where I see a real disposition to repentance; I desire no more. I desire no man to disgrace himself, and I am positively certain that you are the last man who would consent to my debasing myself. You were pleased to approve a letter I once wrote to the Duke of Richmond. I remember it with pleasure, because it argued a perfect coincidence in our opinion respecting the only basis upon which an administration ought to be formed. I do not believe there is more real difference in our opinions at this moment than there was at that. I think my principles are exactly the same. I mean they should be so. They do not teach me to consider as enemies those who profess to be under the influence of the same sentiments; but they require more proofs than one of this similarity; they call for a consistency of conduct as a security, as a title for confidence;—and should I observe the persons who profess to agree with me, in one case, in principle, counteracting and undermining the very principle in another, it would seem to me unreasonable to expect, and impossible to give, that confidence which once I was vain enough to hope might have been established, and which, had it so pleased Providence, might have prevented the alarming crisis to which we have been brought. There was an evident want of good faith then, and that want still remains. How-

ever, in conformity with the principles I have professed in this great cause, and, indeed, in all its appendages, my support, such as it may be, will be given completely and unreservedly to those, be they who they may, who appear to conduct it to the best of their abilities. Farther than this I cannot go; and so far seems to me to be advancing no farther than I have done, and should consider it my duty to do, in any occasion of peril or importance to my country. In this I may be mistaken, as I may have been in other instances; but I must acknowledge, that where I have been in long habits of intimacy and friendship, where I have observed many and striking instances of very superior talents and judgment, the most incomparable integrity, the most perfect disinterestedness, I am much disinclined to impute to bad motives a conduct, however different and opposite it may be to that which I feel myself obliged to hold. This may be a great weakness, but it is a weakness I am not ashamed of confessing, and less so to you than to any friend I have. I have now nearly done; I have only to thank you most sincerely for this testimony of your friendship and affection. It is not possible to esteem, value, or desire them more than I do; or to feel greater satisfaction than I always shall do, in convincing you and all who belong to you, and the public in general, that you have not a

more sincere, more affectionate, or more grateful friend than I am.

Most truly yours ever,

PORTLAND.

FROM THE COMTE D'ARTOIS TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Hamm, October 23, 1793.

MONSIEUR,

Tout ce qui tient au sentiment de l'honneur, à celui de l'humanité, au besoin de remplir ses devoirs, tout ce qui peut déterminer le succès d'une cause, que vous avez défendu avec tant de courage et de supériorité, est fait pour être bien entendu, et bien senti par votre âme. C'est d'après cette assurance que je vais m'ouvrir avec toute confiance, et que je vous demande de seconder le plus ardent, le plus prononcé, et le plus juste, de tous mes désirs.

Je ne parlerai point à M. Burke des événemens d'une révolution, que personne n'a mieux connue, ni mieux jugée que lui. J'en viens tout de suite à l'objet qui réunit tous les sentimens dont mon cœur et mon âme sont susceptibles. Vous connoissez sûrement, Monsieur, la lettre honorable que j'ai reçue de l'armée catholique et royale;

néanmoins, je vous en envoie une copie littérale [8]. Je vous laisse apprécier quel est le désir de mon cœur, le besoin de mon âme, et le vœu de ma raison. Si je n'avois calculé que le sentiment que m'entraine, je n'aurais connu aucun obstacle, aucun inconvénient; et je serois déjà par la route où l'honneur m'appelle. Mais j'ai été arrêté par l'intérêt de ceux que je veux servir, et ce devoir impérieux a contenu mon ardeur naturelle. C'est d'après ce motif, que j'ai écrit à M. le Duc de Harcourt la lettre, dont je joins ici la copie, en lui ordonnant de la communiquer au Roi d'Angleterre et à ses ministres [9].

J'attends avec impatience la réponse du cabinet Britannique; depuis cette époque j'ai appris que les généreux Anglois s'étoient decidés à porter un secours considérable d'armes et de munitions à l'armée royale, et qu'il seroit permis à plusieurs émigrés, des provinces fidèles, d'aller combattre avec leur vassaux. Je profit de cette heureuse circonstance pour renouveller mes demandes, et le Duc de Harcourt insistera pour obtenir une réponse favourable. Mais, Monsieur, sans vouloir pénétrer les motifs de la conduite du Cabinet de St. James à notre égard, et en respectant ses intentions pour le bien général, il m'est permis de craindre que le Roi d'Angleterre et ses minis-

[8] Vide Enclosure No. 1, which follows this letter.

[9] Vide Enclosure No. 2.

tres ne veuillent pas encore répondre officiellement à celui qui est chargé de la confiance du Régent, et que par le même motif, malgré le vœu du parti royaliste qu'ils protègent, ils n'hésitent à transporter publiquement sur le côtes de France le lieutenant-général du royaume.

Dans cet état des choses, c'est à un franc et loyal Anglois, considéré dans sa patrie, aimé et respecté de tous les gens de bien, c'est à vous, Monsieur, que je m'adresse, et c'est vous que je prie, avec une entière confiance, de traiter avec le ministre Britannique l'objet qui m'intéresse si vivement, par l'influence qu'il peut avoir sur la cause de l'Europe entière.

Mes prétentions sont nulles; mon unique but est d'être réuni aux braves François qui m'appellent; tous les moyens pour y parvenir me conviendront; je ne demande pour moi, ni un escadre, ni une armée, ni de l'argent; je ne demande point à passer en France comme prince; je ne veux, ne désire y passer que comme un gentilhomme qui va combattre pour son Dieu et pour son Roi. Enfin, je ne demande point à être avoué publiquement par l'Angleterre; mais je désire qu'elle connoisse ma démarche; qu'elle ne s'y oppose pas, et qu'elle soit bien sûre que l'intention du Régent est ainsi que la mienne, de m'accorder en tout avec elle, et de combiner toutes mes démarches de concert avec ses nobles desseins.

En un mot, ma seule demande est que M. Burke puisse me mander, ou me faire dire verbalement, "que le Cabinet de St. James consent à passer en Poitou un certain nombre de gentilshommes François, munis de certificats; qu'il ne s'informera pas si M. le Comte d'Artois est, ou n'est pas, avec eux; et que l'embarquement doit se faire dans tel port, à telle époque."

C'est maintenant à vous, Monsieur, à juger si vous trouvez mes prétentions exagérées, si vous croyez ma demande aussi utile à la cause générale que je l'envisage moi-même, et si vous voulez bien vous charger de traiter cette affaire importante. Vous ne devez craindre aucune indiscrétion; mon frère est seul dans le secret de cette démarche.

J'attendrai votre réponse avec la plus vive et la plus juste impatience; mais, Monsieur, quelque soit votre resolution, et quelque soit le parti que prendra le Cabinet de St. James à cet égard, croyez que vous avez acquis des droits imprescriptibles à ma parfaite estime, à ma haute considération, et à tous mes sentimens d'affection.

CHARLES PHILIPPE.

P.S.—Je viens d'apprendre l'affreuse nouvelle du crime atroce que les scélérats viennent de commettre sur la reine, ma belle-sœur; mon cœur en est déchiré; mais, Monsieur, si vous me rendez la justice que je mérite, vous serez certain que jamais le malheur n'affoiblira mon âme.

(Enclosure No. 1.)

COPIE.

Chatillon sur Serre, en Poitou, ce 18 Août, 1793.
L'an premier du règne de Louis XVII.

Monseigneur,

C'est au généreux frère d'un Roi que nous ne cesserons de pleurer, c'est à votre Altesse Royale, que nous reconnoissons pour lieutenant-général du royaume de cet enfant intéressant et malheureux, pour la défense duquel nous avons pris les armes et sommes prêts à verser jusqu'à la dernière goutte de notre sang; c'est au comte de Poitou, cette fidelle province, qui dans sa plus grande partie à l'exemple du Bas Anjou, et d'une portion de la Bretagne, s'est élevée la premiere contre les assassins de son Roi, et les ennemis de Dieu et de son culte, que nous exposons avec confiance nos besoins et nos ressources, et l'ardent désir que nous, et nos intrépides soldats, aurions de voir votre Altesse Royale à leur tête, les diriger encore dans le champs de l'honneur et de la victoire.

Nous profitons, Monsieur, de l'occasion d'un agent accrédité du gouvernement Britannique qui a percé mille dangers pour venir jusqu'à nous, pour déposer à vos pieds nos pressantes sollicita-

tions, et un état détaillé de nos moyens et de notre position actuelle.

Nous prions Monsieur Henri Dundas, ministre de sa Majesté Britannique, sous le couvert duquel nous adressons à votre Altesse Royale, de vouloir bien se concerter avec elle, soit pour le débarquement, soit pour l'arrivée de ce qui nous manque pour l'entier succès de la glorieuse entreprise que nous avons commencée, avec l'aide seule de cette éternelle et divine Providence, qui la première a inspiré ces simples mais vertueux habitants de nos campagnes, et nous a préservés au milieu de tant de travaux, de dangers et de combats.

Venez, Monseigneur, venez! un petit-fils de Saint Louis à notre tête sera pour nous et nos soldats le presage de nouveaux succès et de nouvelles victoires. Et nous osons vous l'assurer nous serons invincibles, ayant parmi nous un prince heritier de tant de rois, et pour lequel notre amour égale notre estime et notre vénération.

Mais, Monseigneur, si des circonstances impérieuses, si des impossibilités réelles empêchoient votre Altesse Royale, de se rendre à nos vœux, daignez du moins nous envoyer un officier général, ou toute autre personne revêtue de vos pouvoirs, et digne de votre confiance, à la quelle nous nous ferons un devoir d'obéir comme à vous-même. Nous sommes, avec le plus profond respect de votre Altesse Royale, Monseigneur, les très humbles et très obéissants serviteurs,——Les command-

ants généraux des armées catholique et royale, et les officiers du conseil supérieur d'administration.

De la Rochejaquelin, fils.	Michel Desessarts, D.P.
Dounissan.	Le Chevr. Edouard Flavigny.
La Trémville, Sr. de Salmond le Seure.	Croizette.
Chevr. Desessarts.	Le Chev. De Vieux.
	De Lyrote.
L'Ev. D'Agra, Présid. du Conseil Supérieur.	Fresneau.
	D'Elbée.

À Son Altesse Royale, Monseigneur, Comte d'Artois, Lieutenant-Général du Royaume.

(Enclosure No. 2.)

COPIE D'UNE LETTRE DE MONSEIGNEUR À M. LE DUC D'HARCOURT.

Hamm, 10 Octobre, 1793.

J'ai trop de confiance en vous, mon cher Duc, et l'influence de l'Angleterre est trop prépondérante dans tout ce qui concerne nos affaires, pour qu'il ne soit pas nécessaire que vous soyez instruit de nos projets, de nos intentions, et de nos désirs.

Il est très probable que Monsieur passera incessamment en Espagne:—c'est la vrai place du Régent. Son maintien y sera décent, convenable; et je vois avec le plus grand plaisir que les puissances, éclairées sur leur véritables intérêts, ne tarderont pas à reconnoître un titre, acquis par le

plus grand malheur, mais indispensable pour le repos de l'Europe. Votre zèle et vos lumières vous guideront pour hâter une reconnoissance si désirable, et il est suffisament démontré que l'Angleterre, d'accord avec l'Espagne, donnera le mouvement au rest de l'Europe.

Monsieur aura une activité brillante et utile à l'armée Espagnole; et sans parler ici de tous le motifs de sentiment, qui me font souhaiter ardemment de voir enfin mon frère dans une position digne de lui, il est facile d'imaginer quel prix j'attache à ce que le représentant de mon Roi acquierre la consistance et la considération qui lui sont dues à tant de titres.

Ma considération personelle est certainement attachée à celle du Régent; mais vous me connoissez assez pour savoir avec quelle ardeur je veux servir ma patrie, et le besoin que j'ai de rendre mon existence utile.

Je ne chercherai point à rappeller ici ce que j'ai fait depuis plus de 4 ans, ni tous les moyens que j'ai cherché à employer pour reprendre l'activité dont je suis privé depuis la dernière campagne.

Vous savez mieux qu'un autre, et je désire que le ministère Britannique connoisse que depuis mon retour de Russie, je n'ai rien négligé pour trouver une occasion de pénétrer en Poitou, pour me réunir à l'armée catholique et royale. Le Cabinet de St. James ne pouvant, ou ne voulant point

appuyer et protéger mes démarches, j'ai cherché à agir à son insçu; mais vos avis et vos sages réflexions m'ayant prouvé que mes efforts étoient inutile, j'avois tourné mes vues sur le midi. La résistance de Lyon, la prise de Toulon, et la reconnoissance publique du Roi par les amiraux Anglois et Espagnols, me donnant l'espérance de pouvoir enfin être utile, j'étois déterminé à me porter à Turin, en passant par la Suisse. Je m'etois fait préceder par des officiers de confiance, et je n'attendois que la certitude du succès de l'emprunt que nous ouvrons en Hollande, pour sortir de ma longue et pénible inaction.

Tels étoient mes projets, lorsque le chevalier de Tintignac m'a apporté la lettre des chefs de l'armée catholique et royale. Vous sentirez facilement la vive et profonde impression que cette lettre a produite sur moi. La confiance de ces bons François m'a pénétré jusqu' au fond de l'âme; et je puis dire avec verité que c'est la seule consolation, que j'ai éprouvée depuis le commencements de nos malheurs. C'est la voix du véritable honneur qui m'appelle; et je serois indigne de l'estime publique, si mon vœu le plus ardent, et si mon désir le plus prononcé n'étoient pas de tout braver pour me rendre au poste qui m'est indiqué par tous les sentimens, tous les devoirs, et tous les intérêts réunis.

Mais, mon cher Duc, je deviendrois coupable,

si me livrant uniquement à la juste ardeur qui m'anime, et ne voulant que réussir dans mes nobles desseins, je negligeois les avantages et les intérêts réels de ceux que je veux, que je dois servir. Les Royalistes du Poitou et des provinces voisines ont besoin de secours. Le ministère Anglois a eu la générosité de lui en offrir; il connoît maintenant leurs besoins; il sait combien les diversions de l'intérieur sont et seront nécessaires pour terminer une guerre odieuse et funeste à toute l'Europe; et nous sentons tous que cette partie intéressante du royaume ne peut être secourue et protégée que par l'Angleterre.

Notre premier devoir est donc de vous recommander spécialement de ne négliger aucune occasion, aucun moyen, pour déterminer le Cabinet de St. James,—1°, à établir promptement une communication sûre avec l'armée royale;—2°, à favoriser le passage des émigrés qui pourront être utiles dans les provinces qui ont secoué le joug de l'anarchie;—3°, enfin à subvenir autant qu'il lui sera possible aux besoins urgents de cette armée, si intéressante par elle-même, et si importante pour le succès général de la guerre actuelle.

Le Maréchal de Castres suppléra aux détails que je supprime ici; mais, mon cher Duc, vous devez regarder l'obtention de ces demandes comme l'objet principal et décisif de votre mission; et vous êtes autorisé à déclarer, au nom du

Régent, que les dépenses que l'Angleterre fera pour secourir l'armée royale, seront regardées comme la dette de l'état la plus sacrée et la plus imprescriptible.

Instruit par le devoir à ne jamais considérer mes avantages personnels qu'après l'intérêt général, et que dans la mesure où ils peuvent se combiner utilement, je vous charge également, au nom du Régent, comme au mien, en présentant au Roi d'Angleterre et à ses ministres mon vœu bien exprimé de me rendre promptement aux honorable invitations des François fidelles du Poitou, de n'insister vivement sur cette demande, qu'autant qu'elle entrera dans les vues du Cabinet de St. James; qu'autant que l'Angleterre sentira combien il est important de donner une nouvelle action à l'armée royale, par la présence d'un prince qu'elle désire vivement de voir à sa tête; et surtout, qu'autant que cette demande de ma part ne retarderoit point les prompts secours que les généreux Anglois se détermineront sûrement à porter sans délai aux provinces qui combattent depuis 7 mois pour Dieu et le Roi.

Vous jugerez sans peine, mon cher Duc, quelle importance j'attache à votre réponse. Mon devoir exige que je porte un œil attentif sur toutes les parties de la France, où ma présence pourra être nécessaire ou utile; mais je vous répète encore, que mon vrai poste est à la tête de l'armée catholique et royale; et quelque part que je puisse

me trouver, je m'y porterai rapidement dès l'instant où vous m'informerez que l'Angleterre approuve que je fasse cette honorable démarche.

Ne doutez jamais, mon cher Duc,

de tous les sentimens, &c. &c.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM WINDHAM.

October, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

I can say nothing certain about the meeting of parliament; but if I were to judge from the prorogation, which carries us to the fifth, I think, of December, without stating that we were then to meet for the dispatch of business, I should conclude we were not to meet before the holidays.

You see by my last, that I am not now so eager about your coming to town as I was when I wrote before. I have nothing very distinct to propose to you. I confess it would be a matter of support and consolation to me that you should be in London; and that I might converse with you on the ideas which, from time to time, float in my mind on the present very critical state of public affairs. I find that all the demands of duty, and

all the feelings of resentment and indignation that agitate me, are no more than necessary to keep my mind from sinking into a state of despondency. I do not easily persuade myself, when I am stimulated out of that temper, that I ought to wait for what I can do in my place in parliament when every thing is gone by, and we are left only to praise or blame, to defend or to extenuate, as long as there is a possibility that a hint thrown in at a proper time may give such a direction to affairs as we could wish. It is for that reason I think we ought to be on as amicable terms with those who conduct them as we can, in order to keep the communication for our sentiments open; and that when we suggest any thing which at first may not be in agreement with their plans, it may appear as the admonition of a friend, rather than the reproach of an adversary.

I do not know that I shall correspond with Sir Gilbert Elliot, because I do not know that he at all desires that I should do so. I am very much afraid that he fell immediately into the hands of the intriguers. This I am sure of, that I was not at all in his confidence, or in that of the ministers, in any thing relating to his mission; though I spent a day with them and him, when we talked over, much at large, the affairs of France and Europe, on the general principles of which we had no very material difference. The having, or not

having, confidence, is a matter of fact. I shall converse with you on these circumstances, which you may easily believe are not very pleasant to me, when we meet.

THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM WINDHAM TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Fellbrigg, November 1, 1793.

My dear Sir,

The desire of obeying your summons might be motive sufficient to carry me to town, without allowing the reason which you assign, if I could be sure that the meeting of parliament would be delayed long enough to admit of my coming back again. Till it shall be determined that parliament is not to meet till after Christmas, I could wish to defer a little, my going to London, that I may not begin my winter residence sooner than is necessary. To go to town from this distance, without a long period before one, must be going for good.

I fear that *good* in that sense, is the only good which would attend my going at present. I have no counsels to offer but what I must learn from you; nor any means of enforcing them, but what they must have already from your authority.

Authority, probably, of any sort, can now do but little. What remains of the campaign, and of the fate of the armies, must be determined probably by the events, for the result of which I am waiting with the most anxious expectation. In a letter which I had from Brussels of the 21st, great anxiety was expressed for the army of the Prince of Coburgh; and, what was worse, the same was said to be felt in the army itself.

I have not the least doubt of what is right to be done by us; namely, to maintain the war, in and out of parliament, by every possible means. But I tremble to think, should disasters increase, how long this may be in our power. Toulon and Weissenburgh, if they keep to their mark, will, it may be hoped, preserve the balance for this year.

The murder of the queen of France is an event that appears more shocking (I know not certainly for what reason) than even that of the king. The length of her sufferings, though urged commonly with a contrary view, makes one less endure that they should terminate at last in death. One hoped for some period in reserve, that might have softened the memory of her past woes, and brought some retribution of happiness in this life;—a little longer respite, and relief, one hoped, might have reached her. All is now extinct! An act of such savage and unrelenting cruelty,—of such black and

unprovoked guilt,—I suppose is hardly to be paralleled; as a case can hardly be found of life ended in circumstances so dreadful, so destitute of all external support, so beset with every thing to embitter and sharpen the last agony. All that the imagination pictures of death had been hers for long past;—seclusion, silence, solitude, ignorance of all that was passing, separation from all the visible world. Her pursuers seem, beforehand, to have plunged her into the tomb, that its horrors might have time to sink into her mind,—might pervade and occupy every region of the soul. It was wonderful how her courage was able to sustain so long a conflict; or how, in fact, she contrived to preserve her senses. It is a strong proof of the vigour of her mind, and a presumption highly favorable to the virtuousness of her character. She seems to have retained her dignity and firmness to the last; to have been wanting in nothing that the occasion required; to have sustained, throughout, the part she was to act, worthily of herself, and of those whom she represented. The asserters of monarchy as opposed to modern doctrines, need wish for nothing better, than such a contrast as is formed by the conduct of the king and queen, compared with that of their destroyers.

In this solitary place, I have little communication with the world, except occasionally by letters,

and know but little, therefore, of the language generally talked. In fact, in matters of this sort, people seldom talk any language but what they are taught; and, therefore, till they assemble in town, or parliament sets them a-going, they have no very decided opinions. To me the necessity for the war seems so impossible not to be seen by the commonest understanding, the motives for persevering in it to be so powerful, that I cannot but think it must be the fault of those who should direct the public mind, if the clamours against the war gain any great ground. The artifice of those who wish to conceal and give effect to their wishes in favour of the French system, under a pretended horror of war, is surely so easily seen through, that it can never produce much effect. Our first debates in parliament must be directed, I think, to strip the mask from this miserable hypocrisy;—it surely cannot be a difficult task.

I shall, at all events, come to town before Christmas. If parliament does not meet, I shall be desirous of coming very speedily.

Ever, my dear sir,

Yours, with the greatest truth,

W. WINDHAM.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE COMTE D'ARTOIS.

Beconsfield, November 6, 1793.

SIR,

I received with the deepest sentiments of respect and gratitude, the honour of the letter which your Royal Highness has had the condescension to write to me. I received it by the hands of the Comte de Sérent, who serves you with powerful abilities, and distinguished fidelity and zeal.

The matter of that letter, the energy of character and goodness of heart which it displays, as well as the object it aims at, preserve at its height, in my mind, the admiration with which I have always looked up to the Comte d'Artois. You can be nothing more or better than what you are. You are the worthy brother of Louis XVI.;—you are the worthy brother of Marie Antoinette. I trust that Providence protects you and your illustrious brother for some great purpose. I hope it reserves you to be the avengers of the injuries and outrages which have been offered to the human race in the cruel fate of those persons of whom the world was not worthy. I have no doubt you will imitate them in everything, except in their excessive reluctance to the punishment and effectual controul of wicked and treacherous

men; which misapplied virtue brought upon them their unheard-of sufferings, as well as all the calamities which have afflicted and yet threaten mankind. If I could imagine that you could forget this one great purpose,—if it did not occur to you at your uprising as your first meditation, and was not your last reflection at lying down to rest,—it is impossible that one who has felt the scenes of the last four years as he ought, together with the horrible catastrophe with which they have terminated,—it is impossible that such a person (that I, for instance,) could take the least concern in your fortunes. But you are disposed to better things. We live in an age when it has pleased God that misfortunes should be the inseparable companions of virtues, and that they should keep an exact proportion to their number, variety, and excellence. It is humiliating for us, who form the mass of mankind, that the people furnish the most detestable examples of wickedness and phrensy in the tyrannic abuse of power, and that persons of royal birth and place, who in their prosperity were patterns of gentleness, moderation, and benignity, in their adversity furnish the world with the most glorious examples of fortitude, and supply our annals with martyrs and heroes. It is a sentiment of my excellent friend, Mr. Windham, in a letter which I received from him this morning. I concur in it very fully; and am happy to be able to convey it

to your Royal Highness upon both our parts. Great lessons may be drawn from it hereafter; some perhaps even now. I am sorry the college of kings are not disposed to make the use of it they ought to do. The true way to mourn the dead, is to take care of the living who belong to them. These are the pictures and statues of departed friends which we ought to cultivate, and not such as can be had for a few guineas from a vulgar artist. However, you and your royal brother will shame them into reason, by showing that patience and fortitude in your lives which distinguished the martyrs of your family in their last calamitous struggle. You are relegated to a paltry village, by those who ought to be proud of showing you in their palaces and camps. But you are not unobserved, and you will be safe in your France.

Your Royal Highness solicits, at this court, to be permitted to shed your blood along with the most excellent of your countrymen, who have made efforts almost beyond the powers of humanity in our common cause. It has not yet appeared good to the politics of ministers here or abroad, to permit you to act a part so worthy of your birth and your nature. Till two days ago, I should bitterly have lamented this mistake, but I hope your courage is reserved for some more auspicious occasions.

It was not in the least necessary for your Royal Highness to stimulate me to my best endeavours for your service. In your service is included that of my natural sovereign, of my country, and of the happy state of things under which I was born, and under which I would fain die. I confess too, that I have taken a strong and marked interest in the fortunes of your Royal Highness, and in those of my lord, the Regent, your illustrious brother. My son was permitted, according to his and my earnest desire, to pay his homage to Monsieur at Coblentz. You were then absent; but he had the happiness of seeing you on your return. He was witness of the scene of the meeting of the two brothers in a boat upon the Rhine. The image of that meeting, compared with what he had seen at Versailles, is never out of his mind. His description of it is never out of mine. We never forget them. Let the tears and embraces of that day be never forgotten by you. The ties of nature, which are the laws of God, are much better, surer, safer, and pleasanter, than any which we make for ourselves, politically, as members of parties or states, or in the intercourse of common life, as friendships. Continue as you are, brothers, and you will be everything. Abhor traitors, and you will be saved by honest men. Abhor intrigue, and you will have the benefit of counsel.

Feeling as I do about you, (for misfortune

brings you to that level, which, with an honest mind, never lessens respect, but increases sympathy,) may I humbly implore that you will not believe I have neglected a single opportunity of enforcing every one of your just claims,—at home and abroad, seasonably and unseasonably, by conference and by writing. Abroad I have strongly and distinctly expressed my sentiments, wherever I had the fortune of knowing ministers though ever so slightly. At home my endeavours have been incessant. The Chevalier de la Bintinnaye would have been my witness, if it had pleased Heaven to preserve the Chevalier de la Bintinnaye, and in him one of the most virtuous minds that ever animated a human body. My last two excursions to London, where, at one time, I stayed a week, at another, nearly the same time, were upon the business of La Vendée only, and on yours connected with it. Monsieur de Sérent found me in the very act of writing to ministers on that subject. I should be very much mortified if you did not give entire credit to my declarations. The affairs of France (your affairs in chief, all of our affairs in our place and in our degree,) are never a moment absent from my mind, on which they press with a weight which no words can adequately describe.

There is one thing, however, which I wish your

Royal Highness and the Regent to be apprised of. It is, that I am not in his Majesty's service, or at all consulted in his affairs. I own I am not entitled, by my abilities, to that honour. Perhaps I do not seek it. My name of privy-counsellor, is nothing but a name. My political being begins and ends with the session of parliament. Even during that period, it is confined within the walls of the House of Commons. It is true that my name is heard of in more places than one. I can say this without the imputation of arrogance, because it is much an affair of accident, and of which I partake with many in my time, perhaps in all times, of little real worth. They who are very busy, or very loquacious, for good or for evil, will make others busy about them, and will make themselves talked of in their turn. This imposes upon persons at a distance from the scene of action. They are apt to rate a man's importance from the noise he happens to make; but be assured, sir, that many a little clerk in office, whom you have never heard of, and others yet less in the eyes of the world, have fifty times more real power and influence than I have; and that, in affairs in which, both in my parliamentary capacity and in the capacity of a man who attempts to address the public by writing, I have taken a large part. Let your Royal Highness think

anything of me, rather than that I forget the prisoners in the Temple, or the exiles at Hamm[1], or that I can ever fail in the sacred duty of observance and veneration to dignity and virtue, oppressed by violence and injustice.

I have the honour to be, with the most perfect devotion and inviolable attachment, sir,

Your Royal Highness's most obedient
and most faithful
humble servant,
EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM WINDHAM TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Fellbrigg, November 7, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

You will have received, before this, my answer to your letter, and find that I am ready to come whenever my presence shall be necessary or useful. Though you give me, for the present, a dispensation, I am half inclined not to make use of it, but to yield to the wish of being for a while nearer the centre of counsel and intelligence. Your letter is written in a tone of dejection that makes me apprehend something worse than has yet reached

[1] A village near Hamburgh.

me, or suspect that I have seen our situation more favourably than I ought. The worst news is undoubtedly from La Vendée; yet unless you have further accounts, confirming those of the convention, I cannot abandon my hopes upon the strength merely of what they say. Besides the allowance to be made for exaggeration, and often for total fabrication, the war of La Vendée does not seem to be of a sort which temporary ill success will eradicate. One may hope that the whole of that country is so thoroughly impregnated with hatred and horror of the present system, for which new reasons, too, are arising every day, that they never can do more than stop its effects for the moment, and that the first opportunity will call them out again with their original vigour.

In all other quarters our affairs seem to be going on with reasonable success. No fears, I hope, are entertained, at least, no new or special ones, of our being forced from our hold on Toulon. The progress of the northern armies must, of necessity, be slow; they are there riving the block at the knotty end. But I cannot but hope that at the southern extremity the work will go on quicker, and that a rent may be made by our operations there that will reach far into France.

What is your opinion of the declaration[2]? I

[2] The Declaration published by the English Government, Oct. 29, 1793, in which the causes and objects of the war are

think, in one passage, they are yielding too much to the adversary; and by seeming to give up part of the question, making the defence of the remainder more difficult. Why is all right of interference in the affairs of another country, even without the plea of aggression on the part of that country, to be universally given up? The more I have thought upon that opinion, the more satisfied I have been, that it is a mere arbitrary assumption wholly unsupported by anything in reason and nature, and in direct repugnance to everything which the maintainers of that doctrine would be compelled, and even ready, to allow. In other respects it seems to be judicious, and it is certainly well drawn, and I should hope would produce the best effects; particularly if, as I see in the papers just received, the Austrians have taken possession of Alsace in the name of Louis XVII.

The poor departed queen! How cheering would such intelligence have been to her! How much does one wish that she might have lived to see herself and her son restored in part to their former situation; or rescued, at least, from the fangs of these hell-hounds! How painful is the reflection, that whatever good may now befal, she no longer remains to enjoy it!

From the delay occasioned at Ostend, the West

set forth, as well as the circumstances which would enable the king to put an end to it.

India expedition is, I suppose, laid aside. The opinion which you seem to have of it, has taught me not to regret its loss. The fever, too, that rages so dreadfully in some of the islands, might itself have been a reason, I should conceive, for not persisting in it.

Mrs. Burke, I hope, and all your family are well. Let me beg you to present my best respects, and to believe me,

Dear sir,

Ever most truly yours,

W. WINDHAM.

The system of atheism will now, I think, not be denied. What say the religious dissenters to this? The worthy bishop who believes that the God of nature and liberty needs no *intermediary*, will perhaps reconcile them. They are perfectly satisfied that there should be no religion, provided there is no establishment.

THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM WINDHAM TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Fellbrigg, November 14, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have just received your kind letter, which, besides the satisfaction it affords me in other respects, has gratified me not a little, by confirming an opinion

which I had been expressing the moment before, in a letter to Mr. Townshend. I had been stating to him my objections to that part of the declaration, where so much is said about indemnification, and my fears of the effect it might have in destroying the whole benefit proposed by the measure. It is the vice of this administration, if it is not their wisdom, to be conducting great concerns too much with an eye to small ones. Dunkirk was to gratify the people here, by the idea of a security gained to trade, and an increase in revenue by the suppression of smuggling. The same idea, too, of indemnification was operating there, that is set so forward in the present declaration. It is difficult to say how far the compromise with the lower interests ought to be carried. One knows that little things, wholly neglected, will defeat the greatest; and the consequences must be equally fatal if they are attended to too much. One's fears of the present ministry lie on this latter side.

By a letter which I have got just now, your apprehensions about Poitou seem to be well-founded. The ministers, as I understand, describe the situation of affairs there as very bad; or what, perhaps, is hardly less discouraging, seem to know very little about it. What can the meaning be, of their appearing to have done so little in support of the stand made in that quarter? Is it want of activity? Or want of address? Or has the sending any relief really been impracticable? One

cannot help suspecting here also, that selfishness may have had something to do; and that they have not been equally active, where success was to produce no immediate credit. I feel rather sorry to find that the expedition to the West Indies seems still to be intended.

The style of Mons^gre^ Erskine's introduction is precisely such as I should expect from Hippisley's counsels. I had many traces of it in his letters to me. He has no idea of conducting a thing of this sort, but in the way of a canvass; and is seeking to conciliate all interests, and to get support from every quarter. Such a mode of proceeding may be the best for a job at the India House, but must terribly disgrace a cause of this sort, even if it should procure a sort of bastard success. It might not be impossible, by seeing Erskine upon his arrival, to obviate part of this mischief.

My wish is so great of conferring with you on this and other still more important subjects, that I must come, I think, before long, to London, though I should return in a few days. The evil is, that when once one has got there, there come so many detainers, it becomes impossible to get away. Let me, in the mean time, beg you to believe me,

My dear sir,
Ever most truly yours,
W. WINDHAM.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO SYLVESTER DOUGLAS, ESQ.[3]

Beconsfield, November 14, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

By some unlucky means or other, your letter did not come to my hands as early as it ought. It is surely a letter that, on all accounts, called for a very speedy and a very grateful acknowledgment. The Comte de Mercy's partiality to me has received no small addition to its value by coming through you. There is something cordial in your politeness; and your good-nature turns, what in others would be only cold civility, into the expression of a real kindness.

We both of us love Sir Gilbert Elliot very sincerely; but we are not without many rivals in our esteem and affection for him. There is hardly a quality wanting in him to engage every person to wish him success, and to ensure the success of their wishes. If there be one which he possesses in a less eminent degree, it is that kind of exertion which is necessary to tax the resources of which his mind is full, to the complete extent of their productive power. You observe that he is in a situation of great responsibility; that he feels it, and

[3] Afterwards Lord Glenbervie.

that he is not overpowered by it. All this is exactly as it ought to be. To be sure, his responsibility is great, but he is not alone responsible. We are all responsible for him; I mean such of us as, by the unhappy circumstances of the time, by the extravagant conduct of some persons, and the undecided conduct of others, have been separated from the party we once belonged to. He is taken from our description, to pursue our objects. He and we, who, on account of our principles, have suffered ourselves to be torn from our affections, must take double care that the principles, to which we sacrificed so much, should be maintained by us with all that firmness and consistency the want of which we blamed, and blamed so justly in those for whom, in every other particular, we had a true respect and a most sincere regard. Sir Gilbert Elliot is not found in a common shop of the diplomatic exchange. When a man is found in that line, as in a profession, if he obeys his instructions with judgment and dexterity, he has performed all that is required of him. But our friend does not take his politics from his commission; he takes his commission on account of his politics. His mission is not fit for his acceptance, if it includes a possibility of being obliged to compromise with his principles. I do not say (God forbid!) that in some incidental particulars, which do not affect

the body and substance of our cause, people should not yield to circumstances. Indeed, he will have, as far as regards France, very little occasion for dexterity and management. He will be in a condition to give the law with an authority which no statesman before him ever possessed; or he will be nothing at all. The sword must open his passage. One part of the people must be subdued, and the other protected. The subdued can make no terms; and those who want protection, from their very being, cannot impose conditions on their necessity. They must take protection on the terms of those who give it, or they surrender at discretion to tyrants who have no discretion, nor the smallest trace of humanity. Any thing wrong done, with regard to the internal arrangements of France, must be wholly our own fault. But I have no fear, as long as Sir Gilbert Elliot is true to himself, to his generous and manly nature, and to our common principles. I was very sorry to find that attempts were made to shake him in all these particulars before his departure, as well as the ministry, of whose good intentions I have no doubt; but they are open, as most men in their situations are, to flattery and intrigue. One of the worst things these intriguers (both French and English) have done, is to persuade those in power, that they were not to make use of any

French who were known to take a decided part in this revolution. That is, in other words, that they were to employ none but fools or knaves. The first thing which intriguers do, is to disarm you, by making you distrustful of the only qualities in men by which you can be served. Accordingly, our friend is gone to a great work without any instruments. But a workman is no more without his instruments, than instruments are without a workman. Though he can have nothing to intrigue with the Jacobins, he will want men of tried integrity, and as much ability as can be found, to direct and arrange those who are well-intentioned;—for, God knows, they are sheep without a shepherd. All this mistaken policy is very systematic. We are not to use, for the furtherance of our cause, any of those who have ever shown any zeal or any ability in its support. We are not to afford the smallest assistance to those, who, for eight months, have fought our battles with a courage and constancy perfectly miraculous. On the contrary, we have sent two armies[4], whom it was in our power to disarm,

[4] By the respective capitulations of Mentz and Valenciennes in July and August, the French garrisons of those towns were set at liberty on condition of not serving against the allies, but they were not precluded from being employed against their countrymen in Poitou. The garrison of Mentz consisted of 17,000, that of Valenciennes of above 9000 men.

to extirpate them from the face of the earth. We, the allies, have published three proclamations to invite the faithful subjects of the king of France to join our standards, and we give them up to be hanged like dogs, without a single attempt at reprisal, though we have ten of their prisoners in our hands for one they have of ours. I must speak plain. This conduct is full of perfidy and full of cruelty, and, in my opinion, is as opposite to every principle of policy, as it is to those of honour, humanity, and justice. All our hope of overturning Jacobinism is, it seems, by Jacobins, or by men who do not know whether they are Jacobins or not; whilst we are full of dislike and distrust of all the friends of our cause, and in reality, rather persecute than support them. Sir Gilbert Elliot, if he cannot protect those whom he calls to his party, ought to come away from a situation which, by its nature, subjects him to act a part compounded of fraud and impotence. Persons much his inferiors are able to act that part. It is not permitted to Sir Gilbert Elliot to be an ordinary man; neither his nature nor the times will suffer it.

Si paulum a summo discessit vergit ad imum [5].

Excuse my troubling you with all this; my pen goes in the track of my thoughts. These, indeed,

[5] Hor. Art. Poet. 378.

are full of uneasiness. I am afraid I shall have an odd part to act, if I live to the next session. With the Jacobins I shall keep no terms; and others may be inclined to keep no terms with me. But I shall act with my usual simplicity, knowing that I am guided by no factious principles, and that I have, as long as they are true to themselves, all respect for those in power. The event I shall trust to Providence.

The paper only allows me to say,

I am, with every sentiment of respect and regard, &c.

EDM. BURKE.

LORD. MALMESBURY TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Tuesday, November 19, 1793.
Spring Gardens.

MY DEAR SIR,

I was very sorry to have been from home when you were so good as to call at this house to-day. I feel sure of your not disapproving my having undertaken a commission to Berlin, which has nothing that could have induced me to accept it, but the strong impression I have that it is a duty incumbent on us all to exert ourselves to the utmost in a cause, on the issue of which rests every thing that is dear to us and good for us. I should,

however, have been happy to have received your blessing and listened to your advice, which, as I am now within a day of my departure, I fear it will not be in my power to do. Let me be remembered in your good wishes; and if I return *re infectâ* (which is but too likely), make allowances for the difficulty of the negotiation and for the inadequate abilities of the negotiator.

We have heard from Sir Gilbert as far on his way as Inspruck. Mr. Elliot, of Wells, was good enough to come to London to see me. The news of the successes of the royalists near St. Maloes is the most comfortable I have heard for a long time; and much more depends on the success of Lord Moira's sword than on that of all our diplomatic pens.

I am, my dear Sir, with the truest esteem and regard,

Your very faithful and
obedient servant,
MALMESBURY.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM WINDHAM.

November 25, 1793.

SINCE I wrote last, the outside of affairs is a good deal mended, but they will not bear inspection. Our politics want directness and simplicity. A

spirit of chicane, or something very like it, predominates in all that is done, either by our allies or by ourselves. Westminster-hall has ruined Whitehall; and there are many things in which we proceed more like lawyers than statesmen. If this distemper is not cured, I undertake to say, with the more positive assurance, that nothing but shame and destruction can be the result of all our operations in the field and in the cabinet. All the misfortunes of the war have arisen from this very intricacy and ambiguity in our politics; and yet, though this is as visible as I think it is real, I do not find the smallest disposition to make any alteration in the system. I have the greatest possible desire of talking with you on this subject. I think something ought to be done, and I know that I cannot act alone. If I had not always felt this, all that has happened within these three months would have convinced me of it. The very existence of human affairs, in their ancient and happy order, depends upon the existence of this ministry, but it does not depend on their existence only in their ministerial situation and capacity, but on their doing their duty in it. They are certainly bewildered in the labyrinth of their own politics. What you observe is most true; they think they can defend themselves the better by taking part of the ground of their adversary. But that is a woful mistake. He is consistent and

they are not. He is strengthened by their concessions. He avails himself of what they yield, and contends with advantage for the rest. As to the affairs of France, into which they have entered at last, it is plain to me that they are wholly confounded by their magnitude. The crimes that accumulated on each other astonish them. These crimes produce the effects which their authors propose by them. They fill our ministers, and I believe the ministers of other courts, not with indignation and manly resentment, but with an abject terror. They are oppressed by these crimes —they cry quarter—and then they talk a feeling language of mercy; but it is not mercy to the innocent and virtuous sufferers, but to base, cruel, and relentless tyrants. I shall explain myself more fully when we meet. People talk of the cruelty of punishing a revolutionary tribunal, and the authors of the denunciation of an infant king, concerning offences that the voice of humanity cannot utter, in order to criminate his own mother, at the very moment (this very moment) when they [6] turn out of the house, which they have given them in the king's name and taken credit for it, six hundred and eighty virtuous and religious men, in the beginning of a winter, which threatens no small rigour, without a place to hide their heads in.

[6] The authors of the denunciation.

I am mortified at all this, and I believe I express myself with some confusion about it. But we must endeavour to make our complaints rather effectual than loud. The other faction is dreadful indeed. It consists of two parts; one of which is feebly and unsystematically right, the other regularly, uniformly, and actively wrong; and, what is natural, that which is the most steady and energetic, gives the law to that which is lax and wavering. The entire unfolding of the Jacobin system has made no change in them whatsoever. Not one of them has been converted; no, nor even shaken; and those who coincide with us in the absolute necessity of this war (to which, however, they give but a very trimming and ambiguous support), are become far more attached than ever to their Jacobin friends, are animated with much greater rage than ever against the ministers, and are become not much less irritated against those of their old friends who act decidedly and honestly in favour of their principles. This state of things requires to be handled according to its true nature. If you and I take the steps we ought to take, there is yet a chance that all may be right. For God's sake come, and come speedily, for no time is to be lost!

Ever most faithfully yours,

EDMUND BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM WINDHAM.

Beconsfield, January 8, 1794.

MY DEAR SIR,

Taking it for granted that business of importance called you to Norfolk, and has kept you there, I did not choose to break in upon your business; or if you wished for a little repose, did I choose to disturb your quiet. Alas! if I had done so, I could perhaps have done little myself, and perhaps you could not have done much more to prevent the disasters which are likely to fall upon Europe. Toulon is not only a calamitous, but, in my mind, a most disgraceful affair. We really stand in need of men of capacity for matters of the least difficulty. The whole stock of abilities in Europe perhaps is not equal to the demand; but we had resolved not to profit of what there was. I have a strong opinion that Frenchmen are best for French affairs. I have an opinion too, which I don't know whether I can make equally evident; it is, that the emigrants have better parts than the people among whom they have taken refuge. This I know would be reputed heresy, blasphemy, madness, &c. &c. But I am almost convinced that such is the fact, and that we have suffered all

that we have suffered, in these two campaigns, by repelling them, and refusing to consult, and as much as possible in any way to use them, in their own affairs. To this I attribute, amongst other causes, but to this principally, our shameful flight from Toulon. But if my speculations be false and unfounded, come and help me to make them better. You will soon be wanted, and I really wish you here before the birth-day. The earlier the better. I am not very sanguine about the effect of anything; but it is not our hopes, but our duty, that is to call forth our exertion. I think, just in this bad state of our affairs, we are doubly bound to show ourselves at court.

I am ever most truly and
affectionately yours,
EDMUND BURKE.

I do not believe the Christian army yet done up. But we do not make a movement towards them; we expect them to do everything for us; and then we will condescend to take the command of them, and make them act under us and for our purposes.

ON THE STATE OF AFFAIRS RELATIVE TO FRANCE[7].

Beginning of 1794.

THE situation of public affairs seems to me to be such, that, if events were to proceed for a few months longer in the same course, Europe will be lost beyond redemption. Some governments might last a little longer, some a little less; but the existence of civilized society can hardly be computed by years.

The combined powers have hitherto proceeded upon principles which are sufficient to account for all their failures. After two years' war, two summer, and now in the second winter campaigns, all which, if computed by the expenditure of men and treasure, are equivalent to many campaigns,—little is done. Relatively to the real object of the war, (the re-establishment of religion and government in France,) absolutely nothing. General Wurmser and the Duke of Brunswick are obliged to cross the Rhine[8]. No one can calculate the consequences of that retreat. The exertions of

[7] As the MS. from which this paper is printed is in the handwriting of Richard Burke, Jun., it is probably his composition.

[8] These events took place at the very close of 1793.

Great Britain have not been more successful. Our accession to the general confederacy has hardly produced any sensible effect. Unless Great Britain shall shortly take the lead in inspiring better counsels, it is very probable that the continental powers will be either defeated, exhausted, and overpowered, or else fall into confusion among themselves, abandon the enterprise, and so leave England to the mercy of the French anarchy. The situation is such as to admit no trifling and no delay.

But to inspire better counsels, we must ourselves have them. I am far from attributing to the present administration any infidelity, or even coldness to the interests of the kingdom. Many of them are also able men. But it cannot be said that they have penetrated early or profoundly into the present new and extraordinary crisis of human affairs, so as to see and provide for the exigencies of the time.

To mention a few particulars:—At the commencement of the French troubles, various descriptions of men in this kingdom took the signal, and began *systematically* to exert themselves upon the same principles. Government was not aware how far this evil would extend, and took no *systematic* measure to oppose it. It declared no decided opinion;—it raised up no standard of true constitutional principles, no assistance was given

to those who did so. Neutrality was the policy adopted, on the events and proceedings in France, even as a subject of discussion.

Paine's pamphlet was not prosecuted for a long time after its publication. The proclamations against seditious associations did not issue till May, 1792, nearly three years after the French revolution, during which time its partizans were propagating their doctrines, and carrying on their practices with impunity. This was not from any indifference on the subject, but because they were not aware of the progressive nature of the evil.

While the French revolution was yet struggling, we considered it as no concern of ours, and neither opposed it by private cabal or public negotiation. We even indirectly recognized its validity, by the residence of our ambassador at Paris. When, in the year 91, some motions appeared in the different courts of Europe, towards a general confederacy for the common security, we studiously avoided all interference.

When Austria and Prussia were roused to a sense of danger, the war (in which, before half a year expired, we were actually engaged,) was looked upon as no concern of ours. Neutrality was now the policy with regard to the military, as it had been to the civil part of the contest. This neutrality was a great encouragement to the republican leaders, who always represented Eng-

land to their followers as a congenial soil. It was also a cause of great suspicion and uneasiness to the rest of Europe.

When, afterwards, the Netherlands, Savoy, and part of Germany were overrun, and Holland menaced, our government did not see that the war was inevitable. They hoped by negotiation to avoid the crisis. This weak hope of peace deadened our exertions, and enervated the spirit of the nation. We found ourselves plunged over head and ears in the war, when we were only beginning to prepare. All our subsequent measures bear marks of this original sin of neutrality, and the fatal idea that Great Britain could find some possibility of a separate and safe existence, independently of the fate and fortunes of the rest of Europe.

When we did, at last, enter into the combination of the continental powers, instead of seeing (as we might have done) that their former failure was owing to the defective and injudicious principles on which the war had already been pursued, and instead of acting with the wise and commanding spirit that became Great Britain, we contented ourselves with blindly and servilely following in the train of the allies, and pinning ourselves down to the little policy of indemnities and securities. We now see, when, perhaps, it is too late, that nothing will avail but a radical cure, the

restoration of religion and government in France. In the same manner, the glorious stand made by the royalists, and supported in La Vendée almost miraculously, was utterly neglected for many months, as a thing of no account. What would we now give, to be able to afford it effectual assistance? The importance of preserving Lyons, was also felt after it was lost. Assistance for it might have been procured from Switzerland.

There were those in the kingdom who foresaw, from the first germ of the French revolution, that the questions involved in it would become a matter of contest in this kingdom, absorb all other political discussions, and even form the sole line of demarcation between its parties. There were those who foresaw that a continental war would inevitably break out upon the same principle, and that it would be impossible for Great Britain to avoid being involved in it.

If both these circumstances had been considered to be as inevitable as they have turned out, affairs would not have been in their present condition. We should not, in the year 91, when a war was brewing, in which the national existence was to be fought for, have reduced our naval force below the common peace-establishment. We should not, at the end of 92, have been found in a state of security, when the storm was ready to burst upon our heads, both at home and abroad. We

should not, for the want of a fixed and steady principle, and for want of foresight and previous preparations to answer *all* the exigencies of our affairs, have seen our exertions distracted, and our efforts abortive, in every part of the world.

The object, however, is not to trace the cause of our situation, which is too obvious, but to find the remedy.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

January 10, 1794.

MY DEAREST RICHARD,

In this calamitous time, I cannot tell what ought to be credited or not. Everything the least credible, and the least desirable, bids the fairest to be true. If you should see King, ask him whether the Royalists are, or are not, now in force at Noirmontier? Or, if he does not know, whether they have ever sent a cutter to try? Because if they are not all there, succours may be sent them in provision, ammunition, &c. by that way, as by any other. Is it wholly impossible that Grandelos may have been sent with false intelligence, as to the strength of the enemy at Cancale[9], &c.? Have they consulted the Bishop of St. Pol, or any other

[9] On the northern coast of Bretagne, near St. Malo.

Breton, with regard to any other place more to the westward of St. Malo, in that province? But they are not in earnest. By accident have you seen Sérent?

As to our home politics, I can very easily believe, on putting all things together, that Fox, with much blame of the war, its principle, and its conduct, may agree to another kind of support of it than he has hitherto given, and more approaching to the system of the Duke of Portland and Lord Fitzwilliam. He may be even disposed to a coalition. He sees that the body of his party is melting away very fast; and that, in a little time, nothing will remain to him but a handful of violent people. I take it for granted he will come to the *moderates*, and by thus reuniting the party, put himself into a condition to negotiate with advantage, or to oppose with more credit and effect. Who the *mountain* are which he is to quit, I cannot conceive. I considered him as the mountain, and the others as only hillocks, or rather, mice, that he had been brought to bed of. He never will break with Sheridan;—but I can easily believe that Sheridan and all the rest are sickened by the cutting off their friend Egalité, Brissot, and the company of their patriotic friends and correspondents. They have no longer any link by which they can connect themselves with France; they will of course endeavour to piece

up their own broken connexions in England. If they can do this, their first end will be obtained, and they will take the chances of things for further connexions. It is through the Duke of Portland they will work directly, and not through me. I am perfectly persuaded, that the last thing in the world which Fox will do, is to endeavour to reconcile himself to me. If he should, I confess I should feel myself in a very awkward situation. But I do not apprehend any such thing.

Your uncle has had two very good nights. Your mother is reasonably well, I bless God. May He ever bless and protect you. Adieu! Adieu!

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO EMPEROR WOODFORD, ESQ.

January 13, 1794.

My dear Sir,

I do not know exactly in what light I am to consider the extent of a letter which you have shown me. I do not even know that Mr. Fox wishes it to be communicated to me as a paper containing his ideas. Indeed, it is not very material whether he does or no, for it says very little. It is short, dry, general, reserved; and from these

causes, I think, rather obscure. It is, however, far from my disposition to repel anything which might even remotely lead to an agreement,—especially with a man of Mr. Fox's great importance,—at a time which, God knows, would make the concurrence of abilities, and an authority of infinitely less consequence than his, an object to be sought with the utmost earnestness.

Supposing the paper, then, to come from some person who is well acquainted with Mr. Fox's present opinions and resolutions, I, who have no reserves, make no scruple at all in telling you how it appears to me.

I see nothing very distinct in it, except that Mr. Fox has not altered his original opinions with regard to the impolicy of the war. I am extremely sorry to find that he has not, because these opinions must necessarily have a great and decisive influence on the plan on which he will support it, as well as upon the terms on which he will be willing to put an end to it. An unjust and impolitic war never can be pursued like a war which we believe to be founded in justice and reason. Almost any peace appears to us to be good, which cuts short the duration of an impolitic war.

Besides, I must fairly say, that if a more mature consideration of the train of events, and his own solid judgment operating on that series of things,

leave his mind exactly where it was with regard to the cause and principles of this war, (though I sincerely wish it may appear to *him* otherwise,) I confess I do not see any essential difference in the state of things in France at present, from what it was at the end of last session, when he made a formal motion for peace.

The great difficulty will be upon points, I fear, too important not to produce discussions; that is, what is the object of the war on the part of the enemy, and on our own? And on what grounds are terms of peace to be proposed?

If I understand it, this paper states two cases; one immediate, the other more remote. The first case is the present, in which the writer supposes that no person can make peace. I presume he means, in the actual state in which *administration* stands in France or in England, or in both. In this case he supposes that war, and the preparations of war, ought to go on.

Upon this I take the liberty to observe, that the state of administration is as transient as a glance of the eye; and that a change in them, either here or there, would in an instant annihilate this case, and put us, on the supposition here stated, in a condition to treat for peace with the Jacobins.

The other is a case in which the determination is more strong and clear; and on its supposed

existence Mr. Fox, or the writer of this paper, concludes, "that the war is to be supported with vigour." But then this case is somewhat remote, and somewhat contingent. It depends upon two hypotheses:—the first, that conditions of peace, such as described in that paper, are not accepted; and the second, that France shall not be in a negotiable condition.

As to the first hypothesis, if I understand the matter rightly, it supposes the rejection of the terms that our court shall offer "with security, honour, and safety, to the constitution of this country." Now what terms these are which we ought to offer, I cannot so much as guess. Nothing is specified; but it appears that some such are to be proposed, as a preliminary condition to any engagement on the part of the person for whom the paper speaks, for his "carrying on the war with vigour."

Besides, I must observe, that the case in this paper is stated, as if there were no political relations but such as exist between us and France. No notice is taken of our allies,—a material part of the consideration. Perhaps it is included in the word "honour," but this is too lax to enable me to form any judgment.

The other hypothesis, upon which the war ought "to be carried on with vigour," though last put, must be preliminary to the other;—that is,

that France shall not be "in a negotiable condition." It is not said, nor even hinted, what state of things in France may be said to put her in a condition negotiable, or not negotiable. On this point there may be a very great variety of opinions. We know that such a variety does exist; and that some people seem to be persuaded that France is in a negotiable state at this very hour.

I am not at all in their sentiments. On the contrary, I am very sure that France is not *now* at all in a negotiable condition. But I go further. I am satisfied there is not any reason to think that she will be, within a time to be calculated, in such a condition; and, therefore, I am humbly of opinion, that *now*, and for a good while to come, and without any preliminary suppositions, the war ought to be carried on with all possible vigour.

I am very far from wishing to put myself in the cautious defensive attitude of an adversary, with Mr. Fox. It is not without great pain that I differ from him at all. I therefore make no difficulty in telling him very frankly, when, and under such circumstances, I shall think France in a negotiable condition, and when not.

When I see a fundamental change in its whole system, by the extinction of Jacobin clubs, by the re-establishment of religion, and the restitution

of property on its old foundations, and when I see a government, whatever it may be, founded upon that property, and regulated by it, I shall then think France in a negotiable condition.

Till then, I am of opinion, that no peace can be made with the fanatics of that country, under any name, or any shape they may assume, which will be safe, or which will not be, indeed, more effectually and permanently ruinous to us than any war.

I cannot persuade myself that this war bears any the least resemblance (other than that it is a war) to any that has ever existed in the world. I cannot persuade myself that any examples or any reasonings drawn from other wars and other politics are at all applicable to it; and I truly and sincerely think, that all other wars and all other politics have been the games of children, in comparison to it.

I do not know whether it be inferable directly from the paper, but I think it may indirectly be concluded from it, that if an administration could be formed in France, (though on Jacobin principles and with a Jacobin establishment,) which showed signs of permanence and stability, we ought to enter into amity, possibly into an alliance, with that power. For my part, the more permanent the Jacobin system promises to be, the more I shall be alarmed at it; convinced as

I am, and ever have been, that if that system is not destroyed in France, it will infallibly destroy the present order of things from one end of Europe to the other. We are, as I think, fighting for our *all*. In that conflict, when things are desperate, to be sure we must submit. But thus submitting, I am certain that a king of England will be no more than Cogidunus or king Prasutagus or any other of the Reguli, who held under the Romans in this country, or than a Nabob of Arcot, or a Soubah of Oude under the East India Company;—and as to the people, property would not be, in England, really worth five years' purchase.

The conversations of your friend turned, it seems, a great deal on arrangements. On things of this nature, as I have seldom been consulted, I give no other than a general opinion, which is, that I most ardently wish and pray for a coalition of parties; but I wish, too, that a very full understanding of views and maxims should precede that coalition, lest, under an appearance of quieting the dissensions of the kingdom, we should see an administration formed, which would be torn to pieces within itself whilst it continued, and would very speedily break up with resentments kindled into tenfold fury, to the infinite aggravation of the public calamities, and the utter ruin of the kingdom.

It is late, and I cannot send you this by to-night's post; but you will have it on Wednesday.

I am, with the most sincere affection,

My dear sir,

Your most faithful and obedient humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE DUKE OF PORTLAND.

Duke Street, January 20, 1794.

MY DEAR LORD,

It is impossible to be more sensible than I really am to this last proof you have given me, at the end indeed of a long series of proofs of your goodness and condescension. I am much affected, but very comfortably affected, with the vigorous part which your grace and your friends are resolved to take in this struggle, perhaps the last struggle, in favour of religion, morality, and property. It is, indeed, what must be naturally expected from you. Your heart gives you a deep interest in the two first of those objects; your situation and circumstances, concurrent with your principles, interest you in the last of them. My dear lord, we are in a dreadful state of things, and in an hour of great peril. In that state, and in

that hour, you come out like a man of honour and spirit. I most ardently wish success to the object of your deliberations. Your grace seems to entertain some doubt of the exact propriety of my being there at all. I am not without great doubts myself, of the utility of my presence. There are considerable shades of difference between me and some very respectable persons who will probably attend that meeting. This might excite discussions which, however, I would in all events avoid as much as possible. Though I have never differed from them in principle, nor offended them personally, I do not know whether I am personally pleasing to them all. Besides, from some letters that I have seen, I have reason to think I am under a sort of actual interdict, much more strong, and much more decided than ever, and in a quarter that affects me more deeply. But since your grace is pleased to command my attendance, at least to signify you are pleased to permit it, such is my respect and affection to your grace, such my zeal to this cause, that I cannot allow myself to hesitate long about what is my duty.

I am ever, with sentiments of the most perfect respect and cordial attachment,

My dear lord, &c. &c.

EDM. BURKE.

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Bulstrode, Wednesday night,
June 11, 1794.

MY DEAR BURKE,

Ten thousand thanks and the heartiest congratulations attend you, on the great and glorious event[1] you have so kindly communicated to me. That it has been dearly bought cannot be denied; but could it be bought too dear? It opens scenes to my mind, where I can congratulate with a sort of satisfaction which I think no other event could have afforded me. I think I see an English fleet covering the coast of France, and the white[2] plumes and standards advancing to restore order, religion, and law to that unhappy country, and tranquillity and serenity to the rest of the civilized world. Don't say that I dream, and I shall indulge this vision with confidence, and make every exertion in my power to realize it.

Most sincerely and affectionately yours ever,

PORTLAND.

[1] Lord Howe's victory over the French fleet on the 1st of June, 1794.

[2] The colour of the House of Bourbon.

EARL FITZWILLIAM TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Wentworth, August 4, 1794.

MY DEAR BURKE,

I cannot hear of the irreparable misfortune that has taken place in your family [1], and refrain from

[1] The death of Mr. Burke's son, on the 2nd of this month. On his father's leaving Parliament he had, in the month of July of this year, been returned for Malton. The following notice of his lamented death, written by Dr. Walker King, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, appeared in the public prints.

"Died, on Saturday last, at Cromwell House, aged 36, Richard Burke, Esq., M.P. for the Borough of Malton, and the only son of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke.

"The irreparable loss, which his country, his friends, and relations have sustained by this event, is known best to those who knew him best.

"His talents, whether for business or speculation, were not exceeded by any which the present, or perhaps any former age could boast. In that share, unfortunately small, which fell to his lot in public affairs, the superior abilities which he manifested were acknowledged by the first characters in public life. Perhaps it was owing to their magnitude and solidity, disproportioned to the currency of the times, that they remained without further employment.

"The variety and extent of his erudition was great; but what distinguished him in literature was, the justness, refinement, and accuracy of his taste.

"In society his manners were elegant; and the best judges,

writing to you, though I feel how much, for the sake of indulging my own feelings, I risk the aggravating the weight of your affliction; for what can I say, by way of consolation, that will not produce the contrary effect? To speak of his virtues, his strict and high sense of honour, his affectionate

both at home and abroad, thought him one of the best bred men of the age. He was, at the same time, rigidly and severely sincere. He was of moderate stature, but of a beautiful countenance, and an elegant and graceful figure: he wanted no accomplishment of body or mind.

"In the discharge of all the duties of friendship, and in acts of charity and benevolence, his exertions were without bounds; they were often secret,—always, like all his other virtues, unostentatious. He had no expenses which related to himself; what he wanted from the narrowness of his means, was made up from the abundance of his heart and mind; and the writer of this, who knew him long and intimately, and was himself under the most important obligations to him, could tell how many deserving objects he assisted, and some of whom he snatched from ruin by his wise counsel and indefatigable exertions. He never gave up a pursuit of this kind whilst it was possible to continue it.

"But it was in the dearer relations of nature that his mind, in which every thing was beautiful and in order, shone with all its lustre. To his father and mother his affection and assiduity were such as passed all description, and all examples that the writer of this has ever seen. Here every thing of *self* was annihilated; here he was as perfect as human nature can admit. At home and to his family he was indeed all in all. He lived in and for his parents, and he expired in their arms."

attachment to his family and friends, must render him to you, and to all of them, the greater subject of our common regret. Nothing then can be said, but that, great as the misfortune is, it is of a nature that, not all the efforts of care and attention, not all the exertions of the greatest skill or wisdom, can ward off. It must then be submitted to with resignation, and it becomes us to bear it with fortitude; and never was there an occasion which seemed more to insure the exercise of that power of the mind; for, the recollection of the man,—the recollection of the prominent features of the character we lament, must suggest to us the very virtue we stand in need of;—in the midst of his warm and affectionate attachments (for such they were), we shall always remember that a more firm, a more decided, a more manly mind, was not to be found; one that, though it would have felt misfortune in the liveliest manner, would have had the power of calling in, to its assistance and relief, the utmost extent of manly fortitude. Then only, dear Burke, look back to his character for an example. Let the recollection of that, brace your mind and fortify it, to bear this heavy affliction with resignation and manly fortitude. I know the difficulty, but it must be met; and those who love you (and no man was ever more beloved by many) have this claim upon you, that you will take care of yourself for their sakes; and this can only be

done by composing yourself. But among the long list of those who love you, be assured there is not one who has a more sincere and affectionate attachment to you than

W. F.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO WILLIAM WINDHAM, ESQ.

August 15, 1794.

A STRANGE and unfounded report, I find, is rife all over Ireland, that I am to be made Provost of the University of Dublin. If my Richard had lived, for whom alone I could bear to take any charge, I would not accept it on any account. But it is not for that reason I mention it, but most earnestly and pressingly to put it to your conscience not to suffer this great, important, and (just now) most critical of all trusts, to be jobbed away in any manner whatsoever. It ought not to be suffered to enter into any sort of political arrangement. Religion, law, and order, depend upon this more than upon anything I know. You ought to be informed, that the university sent over a deputation of their most respectable members, to remonstrate upon an arrangement contrary to the statutes, which was some time ago in agitation. The

Provostship ought to be given to a member only of the body; and, for a thousand reasons, only to an ecclesiastic. There are, indeed, few others in the body. The *dispensation* from the statutes, (a power unfortunately reserved to the crown,) as exercised, must be considered as a great abuse, and never was designed for such purposes. The body, I assure you, contains persons of great solidity, great erudition, and very enlarged and capable minds; and, in that body, I trust none will be chosen on the recommendation of the Irish government, but that the sense of the body itself should guide the choice. I have no favourite, no connexion, political or personal, to warp my judgment on this point. The thing must pass through the Duke of Portland[4]; and I implore his grace, who, I know, loves religion, morality, and real learning, and has so great a trust in one great seminary of the Church of England, that he will not suffer another to be perverted from its purposes by any *dispensations*. The sure way is to follow the guide which ordinary law gives. There a man is always, at least, justified. The law is wiser than cabal or interest. This will do credit to the Duke of Portland's administration. God direct him and all of you. If I saw you, I could say much more on this subject, for, though my heart is very sick, it has still these things in it.

[4] As Secretary of State.

HENRY GRATTAN, ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

August 26, 1794.

MY DEAR SIR,

May I be permitted to sympathize where I cannot presume to console?

The misfortunes of your family are a public care; the late one is to me a personal loss[5]. I have a double right to affliction, and to join my grief, and to express my deep and cordial concern, at that hideous stroke which has deprived me of a friend, you of a son, and your country of a promise that you would communicate to posterity the living blessings of your genius and your virtue. Your friends may now condole with you, that you should have now no other prospect of immortality than that which is common to Cicero or to Bacon; such as can never be interrupted while there exists the beauty of order, or the love of virtue, and can fear no death, except what barbarity may impose on the globe.

If the same strength of reason which could persuade any other man to bear any misfortune, can administer to the proprietor, in his own case, a few drops of comfort, we may hope that your

[5] The death of Mr. Burke's son.

condition admits of relief. The greatest possible calamity which can be imposed on man, we hope may be supported by the greatest human understanding. For comfort, your friends must refer you to the exercise of its faculties, and to the contemplation of its gigantic proportions:—*Dura solatia*, of which nothing can deprive you while you live; and, though death should mow down every thing about you, and plunder you of your domestic existence, you would still be the owner of a conscious superiority in life, and immortality after it.

I am, my dear sir,

With the highest respect and regard,

Yours most truly,

H. GRATTAN.

I am to request, on Mrs. Grattan's part and mine, that you will express to Mrs. Burke how anxious we are that her strength may support her on this dreadful trial.

RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT TO RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Downing Street, August 30, 1794.

DEAR SIR,

I have received the king's permission to acquaint you, that it is his Majesty's intention to propose

to parliament, in the next session[6], to enable his Majesty to confer on you an annuity more pro-

[6] The application to Parliament which Mr. Pitt announces in this, and which he repeats in a subsequent letter, was never made. When Parliament met, Mr. Pitt declined recommending a parliamentary grant. He advised his Majesty to enable Mr. Burke to discharge some considerable debts incurred during his long public career, by granting to him certain annuities for lives, payable out of the West Indian 4½ per cent. duties, then at the disposal of the crown. It is not exactly known what induced Mr. Pitt to decline bringing before Parliament a measure which he had himself proposed without any solicitation whatever on the part of Mr. Burke. Certainly, if, in any case, long parliamentary services are to be rewarded by the state, Mr. Burke had a conspicuous claim. He had been nearly thirty years in the House of Commons, during which he had held office for less than two. By singular ability and perseverance, he had, during that short period of official life, been able to effect, for the public benefit, a great and permanent economical reform, giving up, in the first instance, the emoluments of his own office (paymaster of the forces) to an immense amount. During the many years he sat in the House of Commons, there was hardly one measure of acknowledged utility in which he had not taken an active part. For the last four or five years, the affairs of France had particularly engaged his attention; and he expressed his conviction of the danger to England, from the spread of disorganizing principles in the neighbouring country, with a force and earnestness which roused the nation, and led to those strenuous exertions which, under Providence, warded off the impending evil. To these public duties he devoted those great talents and vast acquirements which he might otherwise have employed profitably to his own emolument. In their discharge

portioned to his Majesty's sense of your public merit, than any which his Majesty can at present grant; but being desirous, in the interval, not to leave you without some, though an inadequate mark of the sentiments and disposition which his Majesty entertains towards you, he has further directed me to prepare an immediate grant, out of the civil-list, of £1200 per annum, (being the largest sum which his Majesty is entitled to fix,) either in your own name, or that of Mrs. Burke, as may be most agreeable to you. I shall be happy to learn your decision on this subject, that I may have the satisfaction of taking the necessary steps for carrying his Majesty's intentions into immediate execution.

he expended no inconsiderable private fortune, and unavoidably incurred heavy debts. An anxious desire to discharge these obligations induced him to accept the means from the crown, which it would have been more satisfactory to have received from Parliament. To such a grant, the great body of the people would probably have yielded a willing assent; for, by this time, their eyes had been opened to the miseries and crimes of the French revolution; and the services of Mr. Burke in pointing out to his countrymen the danger of following so delusive an example, were gratefully acknowledged. He did not live to pay his debts himself; but, as has been stated in a former note, the prudence of his inestimable widow enabled her to accomplish, a short time before her death, an object, which she knew to have been so near her husband's heart.

I have the honour to be, with great esteem and regard,

Dear sir,

Your most faithful and obedient servant,

W. PITT.

COUNT DE SÉRENT TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

London, September 1, 1794.

SIR,

If some of your friends have been faithful to the promises they made me, you have not been ignorant how deeply I felt the loss which his family, his friends, his country, have lately suffered in that of a too-near relation of yours. If I did not trouble you sooner with a direct expression of the share I took in that public as well as private misfortune, respect has been the cause of that silence. I dared not touch a wound which I know will never heal. I felt that though I had inclination, I had no right to mix my regrets with yours. I stood mute before the grief of a father!

I am ordered to transmit to you, sir, the enclosed[7] from a prince who knew and valued as he ought the ever-lamented object of our sorrow. Indeed, none of us will ever forget how much we are indebted to his liberal and generous way of thinking, to his exertions in favour of our cause; and

[7] Given in the Appendix.

gratitude is the constant, though sterile tribute we owe to his dear and respected memory.

I should have sent you sooner this letter, which has been remitted to me some days ago, but that I wished, in carrying it myself, to take that opportunity of paying you my respects, and adding to the letter of the Count d'Artois some few explanations which I understand it would require.

But I, too, have received my share in the lot of human misfortune. I am now trembling for the fate of the dearest objects of my affections, who, I learnt two days ago, have been arrested in France. This dreadful intelligence has almost killed me, and does not allow me to leave my room, where I am detained by sickness and misery, and overpowering grief.

Mr. Woodford will have, I trust, the goodness to take upon himself the trouble of doing what I cannot; he will lay before you the present situation of things, which was not quite so favourable when the Count d'Artois wrote. He will receive your directions, and, I hope, will be the bearer of them to the continent.

For me, I am now perfectly incapable of doing anything,—of having any thought, but the dreadful one which haunts me.

I am, with great truth and regard, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

COUNT DE SÉRENT.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE DUKE OF PORTLAND.

September 14, 1794.

My dear Lord,

Your great goodness and condescension have always encouraged me to take great liberties with you. I have done so with the less scruple, as your own excellent understanding will always enable you to improve the imperfect hints that others may throw out to you, or to controul them where they are extravagant and ill-conceived.

In my present state of mind, and what is likely to be long my state of mind, nothing could induce me to intrude any opinion of mine, except I thought the matter was of great importance to your and Lord Fitzwilliam's reputation.

I wish every thing you do, to be not only right, but so splendidly right, that faction and malice may not be able to carp at it. It will not do for you to be vulgar, common-place ministers.

I have already ventured, through Mr. Windham, to submit to your better judgment, and with my reasons in writing, my poor thoughts upon an event then likely to take place,—the death of Hely Hutchinson. That event, I find, has happened. He held two important offices, upon the proper or improper disposal of which a great deal

will depend;—the provostship, and the secretaryship of state. The former of these, it was a shameful job to give him; but it will be even more so, after all the consequences which attended it, again to break through the statutes without a reason, as strong as that which gave ground to the statute itself; which most assuredly does not exist. On the contrary, no choice can exist, out of the university, so good as that which is furnished within its own walls. Three or four of the senior fellows are men of the first order;—the others may be so also, for anything I hear to the contrary. I have not the honour of what may be called an acquaintance with any of them. Dr. Murray[8], the vice-provost, who has filled that place with the highest honour, and stands therefore next in designation for the provostship, I do not recollect ever to have seen. I should be sorry, when I was recommending to ministers not to give way to their own partialities, to insinuate into them any partiality of mine.

This office ought not to be considered as a thing in the mass of promiscuous patronage, and which may as well be given to one man as to another.

I hear that the Bishop of Cloyne[9] is to be re-

[8] Dr. Murray was appointed Provost during Lord Fitzwilliam's Lieutenancy, in January, 1795.

[9] Dr. Bennet, promoted by the Earl of Westmoreland to the see of Cork and Ross in 1790, and translated by him to that of Cloyne in 1794.

commended to it. The Irish bishoprics are all valuable things; this of Cloyne is amongst the best of those valuable things, and the road to the highest, by translation, is open to him; and nothing but an odious, and, at this time, a portentous avarice and rapacity could induce any of the episcopal bench to seize upon this corporate office, the undoubted right of others, and which is fitted to be exercised by one who is practised in its particular corporate duties. If a check is not put upon them, they will be ruined by this mean, secular spirit.

Your Grace holds a most honourable office,—that of chancellor of one of our universities. Your Grace's showing a manly and inflexible firmness in defence of the legal and equitable rights of another, against the unwarrantable use of a dispensing power, will do you infinite honour. It will be, I know, highly pleasing to the university of Dublin, which, about a twelvemonth ago, sent over a deputation to remonstrate against an unstatutable arrangement proposed for the succession to the provostship. They justly considered it as a gross and unmerited affront (as it was) to their body.

Your Grace, by being where you are, is abundantly concerned that government, at all times, but eminently at this time, ought to be kept in awe and reverence from opinion; and by the manner

in which public trusts are bestowed; and not to leave obedience to be enforced by the pillory, the gallows, and the transport-vessel. No one thing is just now more necessary than the education of youth; the least suspicion of any part of it being converted into a job will ruin all.

As to Mr. Hutchinson's other office, your Grace will pardon me a suggestion on the subject. As the first ought to be kept out of the line of patronage, this of the office of secretaryship ought (always supposing common qualification) to be kept strictly within it. Whilst it was a sinecure pension, it might be given on the principle of any other pension, during life, or as government thought fit; though, in my opinion, infinite caution ought to be used in giving anything in Ireland for life. But now, I hear the office is in a considerable degree effective, and may be made the means of great embarrassment to government. I hope your Grace will stand in the gap, and not suffer the present lord-lieutenant to job it out of the hands of his successor. If great care is not used, Lord Fitzwilliam will find himself invested on every side. English government, if they are suffered to go on there as they have gone on, will not be left even the miserable shadow of authority which it now seems to possess. God bless you and guide you; everything appears to me, in this season, to be serious and alarming in the highest degree.

Office, to which men like you can only be called by an imperious duty, cannot afford to be conducted, as formerly it might with impunity, by fancy, liking, or momentary expediency. Again excuse the liberty of zeal and affection. I am as a man dead; and dead men, in their written opinions, are heard with patience. I have now no one earthly interest of my own. I have no other way than this of showing my gratitude for your long-continued kindness to me and to my poor brother. Alas! he and my son are gone, and can no longer call for the protection of any mortal.

I am ever, with the most affectionate and cordial attachment to your person, your honour, and your best interests,

My dear Lord, your Grace's
most sincere, but most unhappy friend,
EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Downing Street, September 18, 1794.

MY DEAR SIR,

It was not till yesterday that Mr. King had an opportunity of showing me your letter of the 14th. I flatter myself I shall have best met your wishes, with respect to the present grant out of the civil

list, by directing it to be made out to yourself, for your own life and that of Mrs. Burke, to commence from the 5th of January, 1793. With respect to the remaining part of the arrangement, which requires the assistance of parliament, my idea of it has been exactly what you understood, and it will be a very honourable and gratifying part of my duty to take the first opportunity of conveying the king's recommendation for carrying it into effect.

Your sincere and faithful humble servant,

W. PITT.

HENRY GRATTAN, ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

(Probably September) 1794.

MY DEAR SIR,

I was favoured with your letter of the 21st. I had left Ireland before the other arrived.

Surely nothing could be more unseasonable or improper than to appoint to the provostship any man who is not as you describe,—a statutable, academical character. I believe that the new Irish administration will adhere to that principle. I judge from their character and their general intentions; and I do hope most ardently that they

will stop the recommendations of the existing government, if they should depart from that line. Report said, that our present attorney-general[1] meditated a retreat from the labours of the state to the government of the university. Should such a recommendation take place, I make no doubt it will be resisted. The late provost, whom you knew well, betook himself to such a retreat; and for fifteen years of it, never enjoyed the repose of a moment. An ingenious and an accomplished man;—he was almost stung to death by intruding himself into the hive of the academy. The members of it have a natural right to reap their own harvest, and to wear their own laurels. They are, many of them, of great learning, and best fitted to govern themselves. I shall not fail to mention the subject, if I see any danger of a foreign appointment.

I had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Hussey, who told me that you had been so kind as to write to me to Ireland. He mentioned the subject of colleges as having interested your attention. On that, or any subject, I shall be most happy to receive your instructions, which I shall always reverence; and believe me,

My dear sir, with the greatest regard,

Your's most truly,

H. GRATTAN.

[1] Arthur Wolfe, Esq., afterwards Lord Kilwarden.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE ABBÉ DE LA BINTINNAYE.

Beconsfield, September 28, 1794.

MY DEAR ABBÉ,

I have within these few days received two of the most affecting letters that ever came to my hands; indeed, to these unhappy hands can never come anything that is cheerful. But those letters were consolatory, and full of humanity and kindness; such as I, and as my ever dear son, always experienced from the condescension and goodness of your family. The letters were from the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, and from my Richard's dear friend and old protector, your other uncle, the Bishop of Auxerre [2]. They are little deserving of the fate they suffer; driven from place to place by the prevalence of the most cruel, but the most energetic faction that ever tormented the world. But I trust *dabit Deus his quoque finem:—Durate et vosmet rebus servate secundis.* It is impossible that, whilst you wait the good pleasure of God, (with that singular patience and fortitude, with which He has been pleased to support the sufferers

[2] When Mr. Burke's son was abroad in very early life, he experienced great hospitality and kindness from the Bishop. Vide vol. i. p. 424.

in the cause of honour and religion,) you should not be under difficulties. Of these your friend, my dearest son, had been very fully sensible; but he was himself under a good deal of pressure. Since then a great deal of this has been removed, though not in the extent in which I wish most sincerely (rather for others' sakes than my own) that it was. Condescend, therefore, from my dear son, who valued and esteemed you and yours as he ought to do, to make use of the trifle I remit to you. When one of your uncles shall be established in Bourdeaux, and the other in Auxerre; —when you have your abbáye, and the Chevalier his commanderie;—you shall then send two hogsheads of the best Claret, and two hogsheads of the best Vin-de-grave, and four feuillets of the best Burgundy, red and white. You see I am not satisfied with the payment of my debt, but I treat you like an usurer. Mrs. Burke and I think of a journey for a few weeks to the sea side. A house is offered to us. When we return, I hope we shall see you both here.

Ever, my dearest Abbé and Chevalier,
Your affectionate unhappy friend,
EDM. BURKE [3].

[3] At the close of the original of this letter is the following memorandum, apparently in the handwriting of the Abbé de la Bintinnaye: "à cette lettre étoit joint un billet de 50 livres sterling."

HENRY GRATTAN, ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

October 1, 1794.

My dear Sir,

I think I know that it is the wish of the Duke of Portland to confine the provostship to the universities, and I imagine no recommendation from Lord Westmorland to the contrary will have the smallest effect. I can't say I have heard his grace on the subject, but from what I hear, I think I may be certain of his sentiments. The fellows of the university have sent a deputation; they were with his grace some days ago. Whether there was not a job in that very deputation, I am not certain; but 'twas suspected that its object was to direct the attention of government to one who had been once a fellow, but is now a married man, and a fellow no longer.

The other point which has occurred to you, is certainly of much moment also. It is absolutely necessary to allow the catholic clergy a catholic education at home. If they can't have a catholic education at home, they can have none at all, or none which is not dangerous. I don't think any time should be lost; too much time has been lost

already, both with regard to their education and Irish education in general; for which great funds, of public, royal, and private donation, have been granted and eaten. There is not one great public school in Ireland; and yet the funds are great, but sunk in the person of the master, who is a species of monster, devouring the youth he should educate, and the charity he is entrusted to preserve. At the time when our government were assuming public ignorance as an argument against catholic emancipation, there lay before them a report of a committee with authentic evidence of this misapplication, in which they persisted to connive, in common with those false guardians of our youth who had great schools, no scholars, and had just interest enough to overbalance the chances of the rising generation. Such subjects are now peculiarly interesting when the fortunes of the world are in the scale, and the intellectual order in some danger of kicking the beam.

We were afraid to touch the subject hitherto, lest administration might turn upon us, and swallow up all the jobs we would correct in one vast job of their own. Happy should I be, at any time, to learn from you on these subjects. You may—I hope not—but you may have lost the power of being happy;—you retain the power of being eminently useful.

I am, my dear sir, with the greatest regard and esteem,

Yours most sincerely,

H. GRATTAN.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE VICOMTE DE CICÉ [4].

Beconsfield, November 30, 1794.

MY DEAR SIR,

It is not necessary for you to make any apology for the exertions which your virtue leads you to make in favour of your friends. If the Abbé de la Bintinnaye, or the worthy Chevalier his brother, had made the same application, it would not have been a breach of delicacy on their part; it would have only been a new proof of their confidence in me, and of the opinion they entertain of my gratitude, for the kindness which the best part of me received, in his early youth, from their worthy uncle the Bishop of Auxerre. If my fortune was such as to second my sentiments, no person whom he loved, or from whom he received the slightest favour, should know what it was to be in distress.

[4] Brother to the Bishop of Auxerre, of whom mention has been made in a former note.

But I have not much; and there are many demands upon me, and of almost every description. I fear that the Bishop of Auxerre himself may be in a very unpleasant situation, driven as he is, with his sister, from Aix-la-Chapelle and Maestricht, and now obliged to take refuge in Munster. In the two former places he vested in some kind of property (as I suspect) all, or almost all, that he had brought out of France. In the apprehension of this, about a fortnight ago, though with some difficulty, I thought it right to make a remittance to him, to be repaid whenever Providence should see good to give him the means. It was, indeed, but fifty guineas. However, I assure you, that it is not every day I can command that sum. If I should be mistaken, and that he is in no present distress, I have no doubt he will return it; and then it is much at the service of the Archbishop, to help to carry him to Spain, where I am happy to hear he has flattering prospects. Alas! my dear sir, when I consider who the Archbishop is, and what he was, I am sunk and humbled, to think he can want such petty services as these, and from persons so insignificant as I am. But the grandeur of the world is laid low indeed. It has pleased God to teach us a great lesson at your expense; but you ought to bear, and we ought to tremble.

As to the subscription you mention for some

bishops, to add to their allowance as members of the suffering clergy, I have just heard of such a thing, but know nothing of it personally. I have not been informed of the amount of the subscription, of its extent in the application, or what continuance it may have, supposing that, in reality, there is anything at all fixed for that purpose. If there be any such, I suspect that it is but little, and for a few, and that it has no permanent fund whatsoever. If it exists, it must be a matter of very private confidence, and is in the hands of the Bishop of[5] Leon, to whom the Abbé de la Bintinnaye or yourself may speak as well as I; for, as I am no subscriber to the fund, it is of course that I should have no influence in the disposition of it, nor, indeed, would it be at all proper for me to intermeddle in it. I will, however, write to Dr. Walker King. He will, I am quite sure, do all that can be done, if the Archbishop should be willing to throw himself on the melancholy and comfortless asylum which can be furnished to him in this country. But I believe he is little aware of the situation of a French man of rank, advanced in life, and ignorant of our language, in exile in England. There is one house in which, upon occasion, he would have been received with pride and pleasure; but that house, and its feeble hospitality, are no more. As to others, they are in-

[5] Of St. Pol de Leon, on the northern coast of Bretagne.

conceivably few in which strangers of distinction are received. In these few the reception is seldom and ceremonious. Lord Lansdowne's is that alone in which such persons are made an object; but the choice is not always what the Archbishop would like, for the Bishop of Autun [6], and others of that description, were familiar there. As to the French, who must make almost the whole of the society of their countrymen, they are mostly sore, perhaps beyond reason, concerning every thing which they think to have contributed to their misfortunes; and it is not to be concealed, that several of them are of opinion, that the connexions of the Archbishop with M. Necker, and the early steps, (which I am convinced he took with the best intentions in the world,) in certain particulars did, some more nearly, some more remotely but not less certainly, lead to those changes by which, eventually, he was himself destroyed and such infinite multitudes with him. I do not say this as adopting their sentiments, and much less their resentments, but solely as considerations which the Archbishop will have before him in his deliberation concerning the place of his retreat, whether it should be in England or in Spain. I should think, without the least question, that if any situation of dignity, with any degree of ease, is offered to him in Spain, he would find it more

[6] Afterwards the celebrated Prince Talleyrand.

satisfactory to him as a prelate, (which rank he would hold in that country,) than to live in a miserable and incommodious lodging, without any particular respect or attention, in such a place as London. I speak of that town with knowledge. For a young man, for a man of easy fortune, for a man of a turn to be pleased with the public spectacles of all kinds, for one that likes very large, mixed, and dissipated assemblies, London is the best place one can imagine. But for the old, the infirm, the straitened in fortune, the grave in character or in disposition, I do not believe a much worse place can be found, even for an Englishman of that description—infinitely more so for a foreigner. We have little (I had almost said none at all) of that easy family society, of those little suppers and pleasant private sets, which distinguished France, from the prince on the throne to the peasant in the cottage. In London, most people of the kinds I have described, must pass their evenings, long and tedious evenings, alone.

I am much afraid, that the number of French to be maintained here, together with the growth of the taxes, which next session must swell to an enormous amount, will make some unpleasant sensation. The fear of it begins already to have some operation; and I suspect that ministers, though they make some provision (but with longer intermissions and delays than at first) for

those already here, will be very backward in inviting any refugees from abroad. You may be assured, however, that if the Archbishop determines upon England in preference to Spain, I shall use what little credit I have (it is very little) to procure him something from what may be allowed for such purposes in this kingdom.

Present my most affectionate regards to the Bintinnayes, and do me the favour to believe me with the greatest possible respect and regard,

My dear sir,

Your most faithful and obedient

humble servant,

EDMUND BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM WINDHAM.

December 30, 1794.

MY DEAR SIR,

I send this to you by Fred. North. Many months have not passed since I was in hopes of sending you another sort of assistance than you are likely to receive from any hints I can give you. I was in hopes of sending to you a person who would have fought under you in this cause with a pure and ardent zeal, with powerful abilities, and with

a manly fortitude, that I am convinced never was exceeded, and I am persuaded was rarely matched, amongst the sons of men. But just as he was on the point of demonstrating to the world what was so well known to me, and to a few others, it pleased the Great Disposer, who gave to him those powers and dispositions, to determine upon some other sphere for their employment. Well! with this loss I have not lost all interest in the fate of all human concerns. No less than the whole of these depend on the issue of the present counsels. You have my most ardent vows for an auspicious beginning, and a happy close to this session. You remember the point I pressed to you with so much earnestness at our parting. I should not have urged it with all that importunity, if I did not know that you and your colleagues must meet several who will hold to you a very different language. I am apprehensive, that resort will be had to those trivial maxims of an improvident timidity, which some call prudence, to recommend to you a conduct opposite to that which, with all the liberty of a sincere friendship, I recommend to all of you. Depend upon it, that the party, whether it be opposition or ministry, which is driven to act upon the *defensive* in this session, will be ruined. Arms are not yet taken up; but virtually, you are in a civil war. You are not people of differing opinions

in a public council;—you are enemies, that must subdue or be subdued, on the one side or the other. If *your* hands are not on your swords, their knives will be at your throats. There is no medium,—there is no temperament,—there is no compromise with Jacobinism.

This is an unfortunate state of things; but it is your state, and you must conform to it. There will be a change of tone. Some designs, without being at all abandoned, will appear to be postponed. But all this is, on the one hand, to abate all salutary alarm on your side, and on the other hand, it is to attack you with the greatest skill. The country is not yet lost to you; but it is in a very dubious state. My clear opinion is, that if you excite a spirit in the people, which, in part at least, is ever the effect of art and management, it will carry you through every thing. If you do not, you will sink under the very weight of your own work. You, and the people you neglect, will together have the lot of those who will choose to go to sleep on the edge of Dover cliff. The public is on the very point of ruin, when the government of the country is dishonoured by its tribunals. When the laws protect those who conspire against those laws, and when there is an army at hand to support them in all their enterprises, what *ordinary* measures, taken out of the stores of daily routine, will suffice for our

preservation? As yet, the house is not fallen; but it is completely undermined. If a spirit is once raised, (and what is very material, employed in its first fervours,) such an association as was set on foot in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, with scrutinies, tests, and abjurations, *suited to these times and these occasions*, instead of the old nonsense, may be adopted with success. After the revolution, such an association was copied from the proceedings in the time of Elizabeth. God forbid that we should attempt to be wise by precedent. But settled governments have not the bold resources of new experimental systems. They must have some eye to example, if it were only to encourage those whom every new measure in their own defence frightens more than all the new measures of attack adopted by their adversaries. But sure I am, that we ought to approach, as nearly as our circumstances will permit, to the decisive character of the new enemy we have to contend with, abroad and at home. If something of this kind is not done, and attended with a correspondent course of systematic action, associations of another kind will by and by be formed, and by the irresistible cry of the people, you will be forced to deliver yourselves, your king, and your country, under the false and insidious name of peace, bound hand and foot to the mercy of the united Jacobins of France

and England. Through the whole session, from the sounding of the first trumpet, I recommend to you to hold, not only a firm and resolved language, but a high criminating tone, as far as the forms of Parliament will permit. I have much on my mind upon this subject, particularly on your manner of conducting the debate, so as to put it into a tactic for the mutual support of each other.—But North's chaise is at the door. I rejoice to find him employed. I wish he may be able to find his kingdom in the map of the British territories. Corsica may not be able to preserve Italy, but without it, I should give Italy for lost. Why, instead of Corsica, is not North sent to Rome, to form an Italian league, and to raise an army in the Ecclesiastic States (not yet exhausted with levies) for the defence of that island in the first instance, and after, to throw in wherever it may be wanted? May God preserve you all in the great conflict you are to go through, both at home and abroad!

Ever, ever yours,

EDM. BURKE.

A better year—may we have it—*melioribus opto auspiciis.*

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO MRS. CREWE[7]

No date. Probably the end of 1794.

MY DEAR MADAM,

Mrs. Burke has shown me what you have written about the conversations which came to your ears relative to the allowance which the committee makes to the French clergy. To be sure, those who go about begging must expect to hear, and they ought patiently to bear, a great many churlish things. One object to many people, either in giving or refusing, is to exercise a sort of power. It is a sort of purchase of their benevolence, to let them indulge themselves in a sort of dominion. I really am in doubt whether it answers any purpose to give to many of this description any answer; for what they say is not from doubt that aims at being satisfied, but from sheer ill-nature and perverseness, and to prevent

[7] The daughter of Mrs. Greville, who wrote the "Ode to Indifference;" wife of John Crewe, Esq., many years member for Cheshire, and raised to the peerage in 1806. A lady of distinguished talents, great beauty, and most amiable disposition, long and intimately acquainted with Mr. and Mrs. Burke.

other people from doing the good which they are unwilling to do themselves. Who told them that Mr. Wilmot and his committee allow a farthing more than is absolutely necessary? Who told them that they who live in London are not the best judges of what will maintain a man there? Who told them that these unfortunate victims of our common cause live in luxury? Who told them that it is not more difficult for them to be persuaded to receive the most scanty measure of their necessities, than to persuade the committee to give it? We know that the charity of many people is so closely connected with the idea of sturdy beggars, vagrants, and thieves, that they can hardly separate from them the objects of benevolence in their own minds. The first process in their scheme of humanity is the hatred and contempt of those who are to profit by it. In their idea of relief, there is always included something of punishment. But we must pass them. I trust that many will be still found of a pure and unmixed good-nature, which many have shown, and which you show abundantly. What is *enough?* It is a word of large import with regard to ourselves,—very limited with regard to others. However, if there be any benevolent people that are entangled with these objections, you will bid them consider what a footman's board-wages is in London, who has

his master's house to lodge in, and has his firing, and candle-light, and clothing found. To be sure, if we could collect the whole into one house, as is the case of about 600 that are collected at Winchester, they might be in London, as these are at Winchester, maintained for less money. But to build and furnish a house in London, capable of containing 1500, or indeed half the number, would exhaust more money than we have. The same objection would be to the hiring and furnishing of several houses. It was on full consideration that the committee fixed this allowance. At first it was not sufficient, and on a calculation which I myself presented to the committee, it was raised to thirteen shillings; but as these worthy and *discontented* people began to know a little better the ways of the town, and in what manner they might pack four or five together in a miserable room, in which they might cook their victuals in common, they themselves proposed the reduction. How they make it answer, I know not; but I am sure that, in London, the committee, if they undertook the matter, could not maintain them at a much larger price. As to clothing, except for a few, who were at first in a manner stripped naked, no provision has been made. The manner of living of common soldiers is in the eye of these objectors; but they forget that, in quarters, the inn-

keepers are obliged to find for the soldiers lodging, fire, candle-light, small-beer, salt, and vinegar, gratis. These are large helps. Then the economical discipline of the army is itself a help, which in no part of civil life can be had. Some of the clergy cut off two or three of their scanty meals in a week to clothe themselves. At Winchester, Lady Rockingham has given 600 flannel waistcoats, besides furnishing something towards the employment of those who can earn something by trades. The people at large, and individuals, have done much. I hope they will not be tired of doing good to these refugees, in whom they may contemplate at their ease what their own situation would infallibly have been, had our English Jacobins succeeded; with this unhappy difference against us, that the French Jacobins would not have left us a place of retreat. Adieu! my dear madam. God bless you, and give success to your design!

Yours ever,

EDM. BURKE.

Hannah More, by all means. There is a book published by Abbé Baruel, which contains the most ample account of this persecution which has appeared; I believe perfectly to be depended upon. Matters have come to my knowledge which convince me that he falls short rather than ex-

ceeds. It is called "Histoire du Clergé pendant la revolution Françoise." Your bookseller can get it. William Burke has taken to town Brissot's book. Cazalès presents his devoirs. I pity, from my soul, those French, who neither know how to rejoice or to be afflicted at any good news on our part. The best wishes of all here to Mr. Crewe.

WILLIAM SMITH, ESQ.[8], TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Hume Street, Dublin, January 20, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR,

It is now so long since I did myself the honour of writing to you, that I conceive the possibility of your totally forgetting me. Twelve months ago, or upwards, I addressed a letter to you, the avowed object of which was to keep myself in your memory. That letter neither required nor received an answer. Perhaps my present may not deserve one, and may meet only its deserts. Its object is to me a material one, namely, the gaining information from one whom I most sincerely and deeply respect, on a subject on which that person has thought; and on which, in con-

[8] M.P. for Lanesborough, afterwards chief baron of the exchequer, father of the present attorney-general of Ireland.

sequence of my present situation, it is become my duty to think, and to be informed. The subject which I mean is,—the proper *measure* of concession by the legislature here,—of constitutional privilege to our catholic countrymen. The situation which I have alluded to is that of a member of parliament, which, for about a year past, I have been. On you, sir, I have no peculiar claims to warrant my thus intruding on your leisure. But the treatment which I have met with from you, and the sort of letters with which I have been twice or thrice honoured by you, are encouraging. I feel that I have always respected you, and have sometimes had occasion of showing my respect; and this may give me so much claim on you as will, at least, lead you to excuse, even if you neglect this letter; for I know that respect, however humble the quarter from whence it comes, yet is gratifying to the human heart.

Is it then too presuming, sir, to entreat that you will, on the score of my former acquaintance with you, favour me with such of your general sentiments on the important subject which I have mentioned, as you can briefly and comprehensively (and consequently without that degree of trouble on your part which I have no right to demand) convey to me in the space of a letter? My object, I declare to you, in taking the liberty of requesting what I do, is a conscientious one.

I wish faithfully to discharge my duty when this question shall come forward; and towards doing so, I feel that I require assistance. Should the Catholics sit in parliament? My heart would dictate an answer in the affirmative; but when I would call upon my reason in the question, it somehow loiters; and I can form no steady and permanent opinion. Once more, my dear sir, excuse the freedom I am using. My motive is an honest one; and I persuade myself that there is that warmth and kindness in your nature, as that my declaration of motive will obtain credit from you, and influence you somewhat to comply with my request.

Perhaps you are in a certain degree answerable for my present fluctuation of opinion. You were my first master in politics; and you so taught me to qualify the force of general principle, by a regard to times and circumstances, that if these latter become complicated, I am more puzzled than an *abstracter* of, perhaps, but equal intellect. If you would know the poor progress of my mind to principle in this matter, it is perhaps no more than this, viz.—that those who, distinguishing between civil right and political power, say the Catholics have the former, and are *therefore* free, and ought to be content, argue ill; for I hold that political power being necessary towards the *security* of civil rights, those who have not the

former, hold the latter at the discretion of those that have. I therefore thought, *decidedly*, the Catholics ought to have the elective franchise (since otherwise they would be destitute of all political power); I should even go so far as to think, that as political power is a *means* for the security of civil right, so on the other hand, the perfect security of this, is the only true and *justifying end* of political power, whatever may have been its origin. From whence it might follow, that the same reason for Protestants possessing political power, would be one for Catholics not being left without it. But how much political power would I give Catholics? (that is, those whose religion only, and not their property[9], was the obstacle to their citizenship). I answer, at *least*, in all events, and at all risks, as much as is necessary for giving them a sway and consequence that shall secure their civil rights. How much is this? I answer, that there is one of my difficulties, on which, with unfeigned respect, I solicit the assistance of (I trust, my friend) Mr. Burke. How much more than the materials for this entrenchment would I bestow? I answer, I should grant to the utmost extent that (not Protestant ascendancy, but) Protestant safety would endure. For my sentiments admit ascendancy, not as an abso-

[9] *i. e.* their want of property.

lute *end*, but merely as a *means*, if such it be, for obtaining security. How much power may be conceded, without danger to the sect to which I belong, and to the hierarchy, which I am bound, and inclined to save harmless? Here is another theorem, which I leave to my respected correspondent (if such he will be).

I cannot think the Catholic, who, though an elector, cannot be a representative, is *therefore* possessed of less political power than will suffice to secure his civil rights; because, if I thought so, I must hold him not free, (permanently,) and must, on like principles, hold the English farmer and elector, the small amount of whose property disqualifies him from sitting in parliament, to be a slave.

Then why grant the right of eligibility to Catholics? Because, *primâ facie*, the Catholic should stand on as high constitutional ground as the Protestant; and though the Catholic of large estate, who cannot sit in parliament, be equally free with the British yeoman I have supposed, he is more *degraded*, for he has a *peculiar* and *additional* bar set between him and the privileges of he constitution.

Therefore, I should not make their competency to secure his civil rights the limit of my concession of political power to the Catholic; but should look for this boundary in the security of the

establishment of the Church of Ireland, to which I belong.

My dear sir, I weary you. Let me draw shortly to a conclusion. This question is on the eve of discussion; is it not? Could I hope for assistance from you—and in time? You have heard some of my difficulties. I will not waste your time with more. You know the real difficulties which the subject contains. I persuade myself, that if you think me worth the honour of communication, I am not incapable of so grasping the general hints you shall give me, as to possess myself of the inferences which you may not be at leisure to suggest. I can avail myself of the lights which I know you capable of affording me; and undoubtedly shall use them, though not ably, yet honestly. Circumstances too, which my obscurity made those who know them neglect to convey to me, and which may materially affect the consideration of this question, you, sir, are very likely to know. The mere authority of your opinion will weigh much with me[1].

Adieu! my dear sir. Have you so utterly forgotten me, as that it may be necessary to remind you, that he who now addresses you is the person who inscribed to your name two pamphlets, entitled,

[1] No answer to this letter has been found among Mr. Burke's papers, but Mr. Smith voted for the emancipation-bill brought in by Mr. Grattan.

the "*Rights of Artizans*," and the "*Patriot*," written two or three years back? Or do I serve myself by thus recalling them to your memory?

I remain, sir, with much respect,
Your very humble servant,
WILLIAM SMITH.

P.S.—I beg to be respectfully remembered to Mrs. Burke.

THE REV. DR. HUSSEY TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Dublin, January 29, 1795.

DEAR SIR,

I wrote a short letter to you last week; since that time Earl Fitzwilliam had a long conversation with me, and among other matters, introduced that relative to the soldier of Carrick-on-Suir. I had in my pocket the narrative of the whole affair, signed by the soldier himself, containing a variety of refined cruelties; but still Earl Fitzwilliam thinks that gentleness is the best mode of remedying the matter. The soldier is still in the barracks, and put every Sunday upon barrack-duty, lest he should steal to mass[2]. Such acts of oppression are very common in many regiments here, even among the militia. I took the liberty to advise

[2] The subject of complaint herein referred to, has been long removed.

the Lord-Lieutenant to issue a proclamation to prevent the like in future. In the mean time, the complaints circulate among the Catholics in every part of the kingdom; though the paragraph you sent to me is the only one that has yet appeared in print, owing to the respect and attachment of the whole body of the Catholics for the Lord-Lieutenant. But this tide of popularity which flows in upon him (and long may it continue!) may have an ebb, and every ebb is in proportion to its flood. The matter of the colleges for the education of the Catholic clergy is not settled and arranged so as to bring it in a proper form before the commons. Seventeen Catholic bishops and archbishops are now in Dublin at my request, to confer upon what might be most useful upon so important a case. The petition for the total emancipation of Catholics was presented from the Catholics of Dublin last Saturday by Mr. Grattan, and will be taken into consideration in a few days by the House. The different counties petition parliament and address the Lord-Lieutenant separately. Some round-robins were signed at Duigenan's[3] against it, but are withdrawn. There is, I am told, a plan now before government for the general defence of the kingdom by an armed yeo-

[3] Patrick Duigenan, a civilian, afterwards a privy councillor, and M.P. for the University of Dublin. He was a constant opposer of the Roman Catholic claims.

manry; but the features of it are not distinct enough for me to understand or judge of it. As for an invasion from the French, it cannot be dreaded. There are not five Catholics in the kingdom, worth ten pounds, that would not spill their blood to resist it. This is my firm opinion, collected from much information[4]. Some plan is likely to be thought of by parliament for the appointment of Catholic bishops. The *election* to rest with the clergy, and the election of one out of three so elected to be in government, or something similar. I rejoice that I came over, for I am flattered with assertions that I have been of some little use, though I see that my stay will exceed a month which was promised. I was not once at levee or drawing-room since I came; nor to the Castle, except when sent for, and yet the *old tribe*, who have long known what I think of them, whisper how odd it is that I should come at all, though I never so much as dined with the Lord-Lieutenant, or Lord Milton[5].

Our friend Mr. Branghall wished me to recommend to you a young painter of the name of

[4] This opinion was verified by the conduct of the peasantry in the South of Ireland, on the appearance of a French force in Bantry-Bay, in the month of December, 1796.

[5] George Damer Viscount Milton; he succeeded to the earldom of Dorchester in 1798, and died March 1808. He was at this time chief secretary.

Comerford, as a fit person to be sent to Rome on the king's usual gift. I have seen some of his paintings, and I think they contain strong marks of genius. But perhaps you do not like to meddle in such matters. The man's name is John Comerford of Carrick-on-Suir. This instant I saw Counsellor Goold. I am glad you have the gout. You are his Lama, and

I am yours, faithfully and affectionately,

T. HUSSEY.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE REV. DR. HUSSEY.

Beconsfield, February 4, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have received your two letters; the first, in answer to mine about Hylan[6]; the second, chiefly employed in the account of the deserved confidence which the Catholics of Ireland, and most of the other descriptions in our country, repose in Earl Fitzwilliam. I thank you for both of them, as I do for all the other marks I have received of your good opinion and friendship.

I must always be proud of the partiality you have shown to me, and to him who was dearer to me than I am to myself. I am no flatterer, though

[6] The soldier referred to in Dr. Hussey's letter of the 19th January in this year.

to commend with justice is, I hope, more agreeable to my nature, than with the same justice to censure; however, that must be done sometimes. I have always loved your public spirit, your regard to your country, your attachment to its government, your singular disinterestedness, and that very rare union you have made of the enlightened statesman with the ecclesiastic. I once spoke my sentiments very freely upon that subject to Mr. Pitt. From what had come to his own knowledge, he did not seem at all to dissent from my notions, though his arrangements did not permit him at that time to make that use of your services which I proposed. Wherever you are, you will be useful. I am sure you are so in Ireland. I am charmed with what you tell me of the alienation of the Catholics from the grand evil of our time, and their resolution to resist with all their might the attempts of Jacobinism from without and from within. I am more rejoiced at this, as few things have been left undone by their enemies to irritate them into the phrenzy of that malignant fever. I am confident that the wisdom, the temper, and the firm magnanimity of Lord Fitzwilliam, will prevent their ever being provoked or seduced to their own or the general ruin.

You tell me that some of the old gentry murmur at your having been at all at the Castle, though you have never been at levee or drawing-room of the

Lord-Lieutenant or the secretary, and never went to the Castle but when you were sent for. I trust that neither the government nor you will be in the smallest degree affected by the creaking which some of the old worm-eaten furniture makes at its removal. But if (which I am far from thinking) any of the new household-stuff should make the same noise in warping by its unseasoned greenness, which the other does in falling to pieces by its corruption, they may be assured that this fermentable sap portends the dry rot at no very remote distance. The being of government depends upon keeping the Catholics from a mischievous presumption, and from a mean depression. No man is more convinced than you are, that they and public order have a common cause. A licentious popular arrogance would, along with their credit and happiness, subvert the foundations of that order; on the other hand, if you lose dignity and courage, you lose the means of preserving that order and everything else. The advances you have hitherto made have been wholly owing to your having preserved that medium, which is only to be found in a calm and temperate firmness;—the remotest thing in the world from that false and adulterate moderation, which is nothing else but a mode of delivering deluded men, without a struggle, to the violence and intemperance of their enemies.

Above all things take care, that without being obtrusive (which is meanness in another mode) nothing should carry the appearance of skulking, or of being ashamed of your cause. If any one is ashamed of you, or afraid of your contact, it is clear that you can derive no essential service from such a person. The leading Catholics will be polite, attentive, forbearing, humble, and, to a degree, even submissive, to the ascendancy, particularly to every man in office and in parliament. But I have one favour to ask of them, which I hope they will grant to my tried attachment, which is, that *they will be true to themselves;* and that they will not pass by, in silence, any one act of outrage, oppression, and violence that they may suffer, without a complaint and a proceeding suitable to the nature of the wrong.

If Lord Fitzwilliam was to live for half a century, and to continue in station as long as he lived, I should not pray to God for a greater security to you for every thing that you hold dear; for, in that time, his virtues (the greatest and unmixed that I have known in man) would bring the leading men of the nation into habits of moderation, lenity, equity, and justice, which the practice of some hundreds of years, and the narrow hard-heartedness of a monopoly have, in a manner, banished from the minds of too many of them. For it is plain, that the late change in the laws

has not made any alteration in their tempers, except that of aggravating their habitual pride by resentment and vexation. They have resolved to make one, among the many unhappy discoveries of our times. It is this: that neither the laws, nor the dispositions of the chief executive magistrate, are able to give security to the people whenever certain leading men in the country, and in office, are against them. They have actually made the discovery; and a dreadful one it is for things, laws, and subjects. This is what makes all ideas of *ascendancy* in particular factions, whether distinguished by party-names taken from theology or from politics, so mischievous as they have been. Wherever such factions predominate in such a manner, that they come to link (which, without loss of time, they are sure to do,) a pecuniary and personal interest with the licentiousness of a party domination, nothing can secure those that are under it. If this was not clear enough upon a consideration of the nature of things and the nature of men, the late proceedings in Ireland, subsequent to the repeal of the penal laws, would leave no doubt of it. For (besides not suffering individual Catholics to derive the smallest benefit from the capacities which the laws had granted to them) a more fierce, insolent, and contumelious persecution had not (except in the time between 61 and 66) been carried on against them during

the long period of my memory. This religious persecution, like most others, has been carried on under the pretext of their being bad subjects, and disaffected to the government. I think it very possible that, to a degree, the ascendants were sincere. The understanding is soon debauched over to the passions; and our opinions very easily follow our wishes. When we are once ill-inclined to any man, or set of men, we readily believe any evil of him or them that is inconvenient to our hostile designs. Besides, in that, they have another excuse Knowing and feeling that they are themselves attached to the cause of government only on account of the profit they derive from their connexion with it, it cannot enter into their conceptions how any man can be other than a *rebel*, who is not brought into an obedience to law and authority. They are excusable, and may do the worst of things without being the worst of men. But it is not the less, but the more necessary, that you should guard against such implacable and principled enemies by an unremitting vigilance and a severe distrust. In the same manner that you never give the smallest credit to your enemies, in that proportion you are to cherish and support your real friends, who were such at the time of trial; and, indeed, to wish well to all such as, without malice, went with the fashion and the crowd, but have since shown gentle and placable

dispositions. Well to know your friends and your enemies, is almost the whole history of political prudence. This brings me to the business of Hylan, on occasion of which I took the liberty of opening my correspondence with you. I refer you to the letter I wrote to you on that occasion. I wrote it in the first emotions which that cruel and infamous affair produced in my mind, and I have not altered my opinions in reflecting on the subject. In my poor opinion, the Catholic committee is bound in honour, in duty, and in common sense (if that affair is such as I imagine it to be), not to suffer a veil to be thrown over it, or to compromise it in the smallest degree. You mention that more noise would have been made about it, if it had not been from respect to Lord F. If this business had been done by his Excellency's orders, or under his countenance, to be sure, to hush it up, however improper, would be to show respect to him. But as this was not the case, I do not feel how it can be to honour any government to suppose it concerned in the impunity of oppression. Were I in that place, I should feel myself turned out of my situation the moment I was deprived of the power of being just, and of protecting the people under my care from the tumult of the multitude and the insolence of the rich and powerful; for, in the name of God, for what else are governors and governments ap-

pointed? I am, (you will believe, whatever others may,) beyond all men, perhaps, a friend to a lenient course; but my lenities are, not for pride, cruelty, and oppression, but for those who are likely to suffer from these vices in action under royal, or aristocratic, or democratic power. I would not put my melilot plaister on the back of the hangman, but on the skin of the person who has been torn by his whips. Your departed friend[7] was a wise person, of a penetrating and sagacious mind, and one who, by reading and observation, had made himself perfect master of the state of Ireland, from the beginning of the sixteenth century to this hour. I wish you to look at the letter of his, which he wrote when he was last in Cork, in answer to an insidious paper circulated, and for some small time with effect, to delude the Irish Catholics. It is printed by Byrne, in Dublin. The spirit of that letter I wish to guide and direct the body of our country in all things. He was your true friend. He was not your friend because he was your law-counsel and active agent; but he was your counsel and agent because he was your friend. Think it is he that speaks to you from the church of Beaconsfield, in which you, and the Duke of Portland, and Windham, and the Comte de Coigny, and O'Connor, and the Earl of

[7] Richard Burke, Junior.

Inchiquin, and Adey, laid the purest body that ever was informed by a rational soul. *He* would say to you, "Do not stifle the affair of Hylan! Pursue it with government, with the courts of justice, with parliament, with the public!" My dear sir, I am tired and sadly sunk. I will write to you more fully on the other subject of your letter to-morrow. Adieu!

Ever affectionately yours,

EDMUND BURKE.

THE REV. DR. HUSSEY TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Dublin, February 19, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR,

I postponed my answer to both your letters of last week, until my mind could get full possession of some of the important points upon which the state of this country hangs at present. My confidential conversations with Mr. Grattan directed and cleared the opinions I had formed from the informations which I had received, and my own observations upon them.

You know that, from every county in Ireland, petitions have been framed for the total emancipation of the Catholics; and above half a million signatures to this effect are now lying upon the table of the House of Commons. Leave has been

given to Mr. Grattan to bring in the bill. The bill has been transmitted to your cabinet many days ago, where it still sleeps; leaving suspense (which is more nearly allied to suspicion in sense even than in sound) in the minds of the public. The confidence which the nation has in the present government is unlimited; but disappointment would render it hostile in proportion. I cannot suppose that there is a thought in the British cabinet of frustrating the expectations of the people, or of curtailing the bill; and should such a calamity happen, I have reason to believe (and you who know me, are persuaded that in matters of this magnitude I never advance an opinion lightly,) that the present leading men in this parliament would sooner cut with the whole British cabinet than with the body of the nation, to whom they are publicly and solemnly pledged. The delay on the part of the cabinet I attribute more to their idea of having, what they think to be, matters of greater magnitude than this to transact. I beseech you to impress upon them, that the question of this emancipation-bill involves another very awful one,—whether they mean to retain Ireland, or to abdicate it to a French government, or to a revolutionary system of its own invention.

This parliament has voted forty thousand men for the defence of the island; it is going to esta-

blish a cavalry for its interior peace; but be assured, that all these men are only paper, absolutely nothing but paper, without the emancipation-bill.

I know that it is the misfortune of every government to be subject to the dangerous misinformation of hungry jobbers, who tell everything but the truth; and this country has ever abounded with such persons, whose false information to the British ministry can be equalled in impudence, only by their peculation and oppression at home. They would deceive the Crown to the last; and the first truth—a horrible truth!—which the king would receive from this country might be, that he is no longer king. For Heaven's sake, my dear friend, for the sake of our dear native land, rouse the Duke of Portland, and show him the danger; and a man of his virtues, which are unquestionably very great, will administer the proper remedy. Let him inspire this government with a continuation of that firm courage with which his Excellency began. If the least marks of timid retraction appear in his counsels, it will give courage to the old peculators and oppressors. They may rally in the House of Peers,—put down the emancipation-bill; but be assured, the very ghost of that bill would retro-act, and put down the House of Peers, with the bench of bishops in the first rank. This is no exaggeration, nor am I a man easily alarmed; but having taken much pains

and made many enquiries since my arrival in this country, I really believe that I am possessed of more information of the genuine state of it, than all that has been laid before your cabinet.

Among the bench of bishops, I have conversed with some who think with me about the precarious state of the temporalities of the church in every part of Europe, and of every religious description. They see that, in the present state of mental malady with which French principles have infected all Europe, every church must endeavour to keep its temporalities by courtesy and compromise only. But no church in Europe holds its temporalities by a more dangerous tenure than the Protestant church of Ireland, where so great a majority of the people are inimical to her doctrine and worship; and who would become rapacious violators in the hands of a Jacobin faction, first to plunder her, as a signal for *general* plunder and devastation of every other kind of property in the kingdom; and after, to subvert the crown and constitution. Though placed on this dangerous precipice, some of her prelates have listened to the old jobbers, and showed a *velleity*[8] to make a stand in the upper house against the accommodating plan of general emancipation, as to religious descriptions; without being aware that their advisers, who are men of no religious princi-

[8] A word of rare occurrence, signifying a low degree of desire.

ples, nor of principles of any kind, have only in view their own schemes of *legal* plunder and jobbing.

It is earnestly wished here, by the highest persons in church and state, that you would come over to us, though only for a few weeks. Even your presence would overawe and deter the evil-minded. You see how faithfully I obey your injunctions of remaining here a little longer, though expensive and disagreeable to me; and without the consciousness of being useful. I flatter myself that I am honoured with Lord Fitzwilliam's approbation of my conduct; he has expressed his opinion favourably towards me to some of my friends. I shall say something of the plan of a college for the education of the Catholic clergy in my next;—all my thoughts are, in this, absorbed by the important subject which shuts out every other. Let me again repeat the necessity of leaving the great constitutional matter of general Catholic emancipation to the present cabinet here. If your cabinet be timid, this cabinet, composed of the first men in point of property and ability in the kingdom, ought to have, and they are willing to take, the responsibility upon themselves. Adieu! write to me, instruct me, and guide me; all shall be subservient to the good of our country.

Most affectionately,

THOMAS HUSSEY.

THE REV. DR. HUSSEY TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Dublin, February 26, 1795.

THE disastrous news, my dear sir, of Earl Fitzwilliam's recal is come; and Ireland is now on the brink of a civil war. I wrote to you eight days ago, under the cover of Mr. King, the under-secretary of state, expressing my fears strongly. Pray inform me (under cover to Latouche and Co. the bankers, for I will not trust this post-office,) whether you have received that letter, and what is your opinion of the contents of it? An awful gloom hangs on every brow; and every man that has anything to lose, or who loves peace and quiet, must now exert himself for the salvation of the country, and to keep the turbulent in order. Though the Catholic emancipation bill is to be resisted, yet I am informed that the project for the education of Catholic clergy is not relinquished. I wrote half a dozen lines this day to the Duke of Portland, confining myself to two questions:—First, whether the education bill is to be effected:—Second, whether it is his wish that I should remain here for that purpose. Mr. Grattan and Mr. Forbes strongly urge my stay for this, and for

the purpose of keeping some fiery spirits of the Catholics calm. Oh, how I wish for your advice and direction! It will embarrass me much if the Duke of Portland delays to answer my letter; and if I leave this country abruptly, I shall be blamed for deserting the Catholic plan of education, and be stigmatized with the name of party-man. Any opinions here are of little consideration to me, when compared with the national benefit which I wish to establish. Pray write to me; and, as to the Duke of Portland, write to him or not, as you please, upon this matter. I am really terrified by the situation of this country.

Most affectionately yours,

THOMAS HUSSEY.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE REV. DR. HUSSEY.

Beconsfield, February 27, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR,

I received a letter from Mr. Coppinger, a Catholic prelate; the seals with arms, with a mitre. But I, who am the worst of all possible heralds, do not know to what see the arms belong. I must confess I wish you would hint, with all the delicacy which belongs to such a subject, that

such exterior remarks should be forborne as much as possible. I know they are most innocently taken up, perfectly so; and I, in my own particular, can have no sort of objection to them. But, when it is considered that these arms, and all arms, are of feudal origin, and came to the several sees, as all shields (escutcheons,—*écussons*) must, in virtue of temporalities held by such tenure, it might, by such malignant enemies as the archbishop of Cashel, be construed into something that implied a claim to these temporalities; a thing far enough, I am convinced, from their thoughts; but it is good to give no handle. I wish very much to see, before my death, an image of a primitive Christian Church. With little improvements, I think the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland very capable of exhibiting that state of things. I should not, by force or fraud, or rapine, have ever reduced them to their present state. God forbid! But being in it, I conceive that much may be made of it, to the glory of religion, and the good of the state. If the other was willing to hear of any melioration, it might, without any strong, perceivable change, be rendered much more useful. But prosperity is not apt to receive good lessons, nor always to give them; re-baptism you won't allow, but truly it would not be amiss for the Christian world to be re-christened. I hope you have an opportunity

that will not be missed; so do not make too much haste over. This is a great crisis for good or evil. Above all, do not listen to any other mode of appointing your bishops than the present, whatever it is,—no other elections than those you have,—no Castle choices. I shall say more to you on that subject, since you suffer me to thrust in my opinion. You are amazingly indulgent. My letter to Lord Kenmare is to be found, I think, more correctly than in the first Dublin copy, in the quarto edition of my *Ineptiæ*. I have not changed my opinion. I hope to write to-night or to-morrow to Mr. Coppinger. Strike on this iron whilst it is hot. You may show my letter to Grattan, to Lord F. if you please, or to any discreet friends.

Yours ever,

E. B.

P.S.—I hope Hylan, whilst he is in this Protestant purgatory, does not want money.

THE REV. DR. HUSSEY TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Dublin, February 28, 1795.

I WROTE a few lines to you, my dear sir, under cover to a friend, by yesterday's post. It is the

only mode of writing at this awful time of general distrust and dishonesty. The post-office in this town is not a safe channel for any virtuous communication. I had written to you ten days ago, under cover of Mr. King, under-secretary, and am anxious to know if that letter got to your hands. Yesterday the Catholics had a general meeting, which, considering how numerous it was, ended decorously. They voted two addresses;—one to the king, which will go over with the deputies, Baron of Galtrim, Mr. E. Byrne, and J. Keogh. Their prayer is, after expressing their regret for the change of the chief-governor, and deprecating the renewal of proscription, that his Majesty may prevent the prorogation of Parliament until the question of Catholic emancipation undergoes a discussion. The other was an address to his Excellency, on his removal. There will be county meetings on this subject. The sheriff of the county Kildare will immediately call one; in which the question of Catholic emancipation will be discussed and recommended. Most counties, it is imagined, will call meetings. The Catholic delegates will set off early in the next week to London. Most of the Catholic nobility attended the meeting yesterday. Such an union may prevent the lower orders of them from going into violent measures. From some expressions in the Duke of Portland's dispatches, he in-

sinuates that the matter of Catholic clergy education must go on. I will not desert that object, however personally expensive my stay is; and I have written for explicit orders to his grace. Tell me what I ought to do when I receive them. Write to me under cover to P. Dease, Esq., merchant, Dublin. I dare not give you more of my opinions through the suspected channels of a post-office; but it will be no treason for me to say with what respect and veneration

I am, affectionately yours,

THOMAS HUSSEY.

THE REV. DR. HUSSEY TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Dublin, March 3, 1795.

DEAR SIR,

The Baron of Galtrim, together with Messrs. Byrne and Keogh, do me the honour of handing this note to you. Your assistance in the great cause they undertake I have no doubt of. The freedom and happiness of our country have ever been the objects nearest to your heart, and its advances towards both have been chiefly owing to your labours. The short letter of Mr. Windham, dated the 24th of last month, praying Earl

Fitzwilliam not to precipitate anything, and advising Mr. Grattan to go to London to negotiate some arrangement, though seemingly only a private, not an official letter, has given some hope that our viceroy will not be removed. Even the apprehension of his departure has laid the foundation of much future mischief. The people begin to view the interference of the British cabinet in a hostile light; they will soon consider this parliament as a court of register, to obey the dictates of a British minister. They will wish for a separation from Great Britain; and the contemptible light in which they will view their own parliament, will induce them to lay it in the dust, and to erect a convention on the French scale in its place. All these mischiefs appear to me unavoidable, if the British cabinet pursues its present measures. How, in the name of God, can the spirit of this nation bear that the most popular and most virtuous viceroy that ever came to this country should be removed? This is not my language, but the language of the public. But Grattan, Forbes, and such virtuous men, have been long enough in the confidence of this present administration to get sight, at least in part, of the corruptions of late administrations; and they are not likely to hush them up. I wrote a long letter to you twelve days ago, under J. King's cover. I got no letter from you,

neither in answer to it, nor upon any other subject since. I wrote two short letters to you since the notification of recall to Earl Fitzwilliam. When I have your letters to guide me, I march on with courage and confidence. I will not trust this post-office; it shares in the general corruption of the country. The gentlemen who wait upon you will give a full account of this country. I advise them to stop under your hospitable roof in their way to London; you will enable them to see their way clearly. They will also tell you what is the voice and wish of this kingdom concerning you. You need not that any one should acquaint you with the unfeigned respect, attachment, and veneration of,

Yours for life,

THOMAS HUSSEY.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO DR. HUSSEY.

Nerot's Hotel, March 5, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR,

The ministers with whom I had the honour to converse on this disastrous subject, have not told me that the public catastrophe was actually completed by the actual recall of Lord F. In my opinion, they ought to have informed me of

this particular, in order to save themselves, for the sake of their important business, and me, for common charity, a great deal of useless discourse. I shall make no reflections on this affair. It has got above my prudence, and beyond my efforts; and if I were to risk an opinion to you upon it, it would be to preserve a profound silence on an event, which, in every point of view, it is so difficult to discuss. You will naturally leave things entirely to their own natural operation. Nature, in desperate diseases, frequently does most when she is left entirely to herself. Whatever I could do here, in the way of poor medical advice, is done. I can do no more, nor can you, I believe. All the letters I have seen from Ireland speak but one language, which is the same with yours, about the alarms caused by the very first event of this kind that has occurred in the history of these kingdoms; and which, merely by being new, makes it very difficult to calculate the consequences. In Ireland you are in great affliction.—Not so here. The opposition, and the whole body of the Jacobins, are in transports about it. Many of the little fry of court politicians seem also to exult; the first with reason, the last through folly. Mr. Grattan, I hope, has got my answer to his letter, which has been my brief.

It was so late before your letters came to my

hands, that I cannot see the Duke of Portland before this post goes out. I shall write again to-morrow. You will not stir till you hear from me. I have some cautions to submit to your judgment relative to education. Only tell Mr. Grattan what, in my first paroxysm of grief and shame, I forgot perhaps to distinguish accurately,—that the triumph in the disarmament of opposition did not come from any of the ministers, or those who trust them here. Their language, whatever their proceedings may have been, is cool, decorous, and conciliatory.

I am, till to-morrow, and ever,
Your most faithful and affectionate friend,
and obliged humble servant,
EDM. BURKE.

REV. DR. HUSSEY TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

March 10, 1795.

DEAR SIR,

I felt with gratitude, and followed with punctuality, the advice you gave me in your letter of the 5th, and should have expressed these sentiments to you by return of post, had you not told

me that you intended to write to me more fully the following day, from which the variety of your important avocations undoubtedly prevented you.

I received a letter two days ago from the Duke of Portland, desiring me to remain here for the establishment of a Catholic college, and promising to have a bill passed for it this session of parliament. Knowing the good effect such an intention would produce, towards quieting the present irritated state of the public mind, I made every prudent use of his Grace's letter, and have succeeded.

This day's post brings me the account of Lord Camden's nomination, and that he will set off in the beginning of next week, to take upon him the government of this country. As I have not the honour of being known to his lordship, I request you will give me a letter to him, or to his secretary, Mr. Pelham, mentioning the object of my mission here. If you find it inconvenient to write such a letter yourself, perhaps you may not think it equally so to get me introduced to him through an official channel. My only view is to carry this great national object through with the greatest facility and effect, and to prevent the evil-minded from embarrassing it.

Lord Fitzwilliam is expected in town to-mor-

row, or on Monday. I am, with the most sincere respect and attachment,

My dear sir,
Most affectionately yours,
T. HUSSEY.

HENRY GRATTAN, ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

March 14, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR,

You would have served them, but they were not to be served. You would have healed wounds, private and public. There is more wisdom in your ardour, than in their cold and overreaching discretion. I lament it. I lament it on account of Ireland, on account of England, and on account of the best man I ever knew,—Lord Fitzwilliam. It is now the established principle of the British cabinet, that Irish jobbers and Irish jobs are sacred; and that whatever redress we may look to, can be only obtained by peremptory and hostile demand. That Mr. Pitt should have behaved so, I am not astonished; but that the Duke of Portland—the Duke of Portland,—a name I must persist, from my recollection of 1782, still almost to regard,—that he should have used us so,—that

he should have deserted Ireland—deserted his friend,—and have thrown the former into a fever, and have left the latter in solitude,—is astonishing. No subject on which he was more decided than the removal of Beresford. He admired the facility with which Pitt had given him up. He entered with indignation against his system of jobbing; and I should have thought would have removed *us*, if we had not removed *him*. If he blames us for our efforts to correct abuses in the administration of Irish government, let him blame himself also, who told us that he undertook a share in the government, principally with a view to correct abuses in Ireland. What are we to think of the faith of most reputed Englishmen? What can his Grace say to his friend—to his friend Lord Fitzwilliam,—whom he induced to accept the government of this country, in which he has been disgraced;—and to his own relations here, whom he has left to a long opposition-war, with every personal and every public provocation? But Lord Camden and Mr. Pelham are to heal all this. I doubt it. They will have the parliament, but they have lost the nation. I had written a letter to Mr. Windham, but I did not send it;—it had been of no use. I regard him much; I wish to stand well in his opinion, if any Irishman can stand well in the opinion of a member of the English cabinet. Could I have hoped that his

sentiments had any chance of being adopted by his brethren, I should have gone to England at his suggestion; but I apprehend there was a determination conceived long ago to extinguish the Duke of Portland's pretensions to a sway in the government of England, and to remove his Lord-Lieutenant on the first opportunity.

However, 'tis of little consequence now to speculate;—the affair is over, and the breach irreparable. It gives me this opportunity of assuring you how much I feel as you do, and with you, and lament your good interposition had not the effect which it should have had, and would have had, if the benefit of both countries had been considered by any party in England.

I am, my dear sir,

Yours most sincerely,

H. GRATTAN.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO REV. DR. HUSSEY.

March 17, 1795.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Such is the state of the Irish post, that whether my two last letters, or either of them, ever came to your hands, is more than I am able to divine. I had begun a third, and had made some progress in it. It would have been, I fear, a long one;

but the precipitancy of the late revolution got the start, not only of my pen, but of my conceptions. While I was discussing the merits of a single measure of a government, the government itself was no more. It is an age of astonishing events. Nothing happens in the ordinary course.

You went to Ireland at my most earnest desire. I thought you might be safe in the exercise of your virtues. I thought Lord Fitzwilliam might possibly be Lord-Lieutenant in substance as well as in show. I thought he might have continued so. I was not, indeed, without some apprehensions, but they were done away, when I saw the king's business done with success and splendour, and the country united and happy. But the old court has risen again. The junto which, for a long time, has ruled Ireland by deceiving Great Britain, has returned in triumph, with all that renovated force, which it has long since been observed a government acquires from a suppressed rebellion.

The only amends I can make you for having betrayed you into your present situation, is to request you to quit it as speedily as possible. Consult Mr. Grattan, with whom I have no reserves, and I wish you to have none. Show him this. Except he advises you to remain, my opinion is, that your liberty and your life are not safe for

an hour. Had I imagined that the old junto would have been the ruling power, I should just as soon have asked you to go to Paris as to Dublin.

You have no political and local duty, as I conceive, that should induce you to incur the perils of your present situation. As to those who must remain, if you know any of them who are likely to attend to my opinions, I shall state them presently in a few words, after, in still fewer, I shall have let you know of my conversation with the Duke of Portland. I showed him your letter, and told him, that the advice I should humbly offer was, that you should return. He earnestly wished you to stay; that the business of the Catholic colleges was not abandoned; that it should not be of any expense to you. I said nothing as to the expense. I was very sensible that my zealous intentions, and your own excellent and generous heart, by a chargeable journey to Ireland, and a residence there, had leaned heavily on your finance; but it was with that heart, which had refused a thousand pounds on a commission to Spain, to serve this country and both crowns; and which, through me, some time ago offered, at your own charge, to go on a critical service in Italy,—to judge, whether you can bear the present tax upon your virtues. I told his Grace that I should lay the whole matter of your stay before

you, and interpose no opinion of mine. My opinion of the utility of your stay in Dublin for the establishment of those colleges, was then the same with that of his Grace. Lord Fitzwilliam's irrevocable doom, at least that I know of, was not then sealed. Now all is over.

It is my poor opinion, that, if the necessary money is given to your own free disposal, (that is, to the disposal of the Catholic prelates,) that it ought to be readily and thankfully accepted, from whatever hand it comes. It is my equally clear opinion, that they ought not only to consent, but to desire, that an account of the expenditure, with proper vouchers, should be annually or biennially, according to convenience, laid before a committee of the House of Commons, to prevent the very suspicion of jobbing, to which all public institutions in Ireland are liable.

All other interference whatever, if I were in the place of these reverend persons, I would resist; and would much rather trust to God's good providence, and the contributions of your own people, for the education of your clergy, than to put into the hands of your known, avowed, and implacable enemies—into the hands of those who make it their merit and their boast, that they are your enemies—the very fountains of your morals and your religion. I have considered this matter at large, and at various times, and I have con-

sidered it in relation to the designs of your enemies. The scheme of these colleges, as you well know, did not originate from them. But they will endeavour to pervert the benevolence and liberality of others into an instrument of their own evil purposes. Be well assured, that they never did, and that they never will consent, to give one shilling of money for any other purpose than to do you mischief. If you consent to put your clerical education, or any other part of your education, under their direction or control, then you will have sold your religion for their money. There will be an end, not only of the Catholic religion, but of all religion, all morality, all law, and all order, in that unhappy kingdom.

These are not the rash opinions of the moment. For my fixed sentiments on this subject, I beg leave to refer you, and any of your friends who may think such poor sentiments as mine of any value, to the letter which I had the honour to write to Lord Kenmare, dated Feb. 21st, 1782. It is in the third volume of my Tracts, printed by Dodsley, from page 529 to the end of that letter. You will there perceive that my notions (such as they are) are not founded upon chimerical abstractions, upon the rights of states and governments to regulate education, &c. &c., with all that silly prattle of metaphysical politics, which a parrot could go through as well as they who use it, and

is much more becoming green plumage than black gowns. No! you will see there that I have walked in another path. I have endeavoured to build what I there advanced on the knowledge of men, as they are modified by their habitudes and their circumstances, and as they ought to be provided for according to their variable necessities. This letter was written a little more than thirteen years ago. God forbid, if circumstances had varied, that I should resist the lessons of experience; but experience, instead of weakening these opinions in my mind, has strengthened them with a new accession of reasons and of motives.

It is for your wisdom to consider, when they talk to you of the interference of *government*, whether you will give way to a play of *entia rationis, and quiddities*, which would not impose on a senior sophister at college. You will not be put off by a talk of *government*. You will ask, who the *men in power* are, to whom you are to submit the education of a Catholic seminary for your priesthood. Is it to the Right Reverend the Lord Archbishop of Cashel[9], or his very reverend brother? Is it to the Marquis of Downshire? Is it to Mr. Cooke or Mr. Hamilton? Is it to the learned Dr. Duigenan? Is it to Dr. Bennet, the new Bishop of Cloyne? Is it to the Speaker of

[9] Dr. Agar, created in 1795 Baron, in 1800 Viscount Somerton, and in 1806 Earl of Normanton.

the House of Commons? In a word, and to sum up all, is it to Lord Fitzgibbon? His Lordship is hardly fit for that office in my poor opinion, though his father might, who knew very well the education proper to be given to a Catholic clergyman. Know the men you have to deal with in their *concretes;* and then you will judge what trust you are to put in them when they are presented to you in their *abstract*, under the fine, specious, general name of *government. These men*, and these *only*, are to regulate and order you. You best know whether they are your friends or your enemies. You have them now, and you know by late events whether there be a probability of ever getting rid of them.

You are to judge of their plans and views by the act of parliament which they passed a year or two ago, when they took off the penalties on your keeping schools. They put any schools you might have in future under the direction of the College of Dublin. Probably a more contumelious insult was never added to a cruel injury, from the beginning of the world to this hour. I believe I revere the College of Dublin as much as any man, and am sure a better inspection over schools belonging to our Church could not be provided. But it is neither fit nor decent that they should have any meddling whatever with your places of education. I say nothing of the other parts of

that act, which are all in the same spirit, or worse.

Consider, before you put your seminaries under the direction of those enemies of yours who call themselves Protestants, the manner in which they conduct themselves with regard to the schools that belong to the religion they pretend themselves to believe in. I have put the report concerning those schools into your hands. You know what to think of it. You know what to think of the charter schools. You remember the mention you made of them in your sermon on St. Patrick's day, when my dear son and I heard you. You did not scruple the more to do them justice, because Lord Westmeath, as well as some other gentlemen, zealous for the Protestant ascendancy, were among your auditors. If schools of *their own* are so managed by them, think of what must become of *yours* in such hands! I shall, at some other time, lay my sentiments more fully before you on the charter schools.

I strongly suspect that an insidious court will be paid to your clergy; what friends would bestow as gifts, enemies will give as bribes. There has been for certain, amongst your Irish politicians, a scheme (amongst other schemes for the distraction and ruin of the kingdom) for dividing the clergy from the laity, and the lower classes of Catholic laity from the higher. I know that they already

value themselves on their success in this wicked and senseless project, and they hope that the Catholic clergy will be brought by management to act their part in this design against the people of consideration and property amongst them. I have no doubt that the sagacity and vigilance of the Catholic clergy will soon convince them of their mistake; and that they are never to be seduced into a separation from the higher orders, or intimidated into a dereliction of the lower orders, but that they will take one common fate, and sink or swim with their brethren of every description.

You will naturally ask those politicians, who are so desirous of regulating your ecclesiastical affairs, one plain question:—Why, when they gave, about three years ago, a no smaller sum than five thousand pounds a year to the dissenting ministers, they never reserved to themselves any share in the inspection or control of that body to which they gave that donation? Ask them another:—Why they did not secure to themselves some share in the election or approbation of their [1] ministry, when they would fain arrogate to themselves a large share in the approbation of yours? They can give no answer but this,—that they fear them, and they despise you; or this,—that they look on the dissenters as good subjects, in whom they can

[1] *i. e.* of the Dissenters.

confide; and that they look upon you as under a just suspicion of being traitors, over whom they must hold a strict hand and a careful watch. The gentlemen of the Catholic clergy know whether, by their future actions, they are to countenance a conduct on the part of power, which can be defended only on the one or the other of the above suppositions, or, indeed, only by both these suppositions together.

In conclusion, the humble and respectful advice which a long and most sincere regard to them, and a thorough knowledge of the character and designs of their enemies, induces me to lay before them, is this,—that for the present they should rest upon their oars, and let their laity act for themselves: that they should not take counsel with their adversaries about any of their arrangements: that they should not innovate, or permit others to innovate, upon any part of their ecclesiastical polity. This polity has been preserved, and it has preserved them, through the most dreadful storms that have, perhaps, shaken any Church, for two hundred and fifty years and upwards. Let no consideration of a little money prevail on them to relinquish any *part* of it;—for in the *whole* is their safety. I have heard of the election of priests to parishes, and of bishops to dioceses, with an election by their enemies out of three candidates to be presented to their choice.

My opinion is, that the old course, because it is the old course, and because it has been the successful course, should not in any instance be departed from by them. If any aids be given to keep them in that course, so advantageous to them and to the public order, good; but no extraneous interference of another religious system to which they are to be subordinate. No such is claimed over Presbyterians, Independents, or Anabaptists. Permit no elections from within or from without. In very small churches, where a ruling mind or two puts the whole in order, nothing can be better than an election; but in great bodies it is pestiferous. Indeed, in great bodies it has been long disused to good effect. Otherwise, humanly speaking, the Christian religion could not have existed to this day. They who would destroy it in our time, acted wisely when they proposed to make the bishops elective. The Christian religion did not, in France, survive this arrangement for a year; nor would it with you, I assure you. It would be right indeed for those who appoint, generally, and as a sort of rule, to attend to the sober wishes of the people. They betray their trusts if they do not. But there are much less mischievous, and much more certain means, of getting at the unbiassed wishes of the clergy and the people, than by an election. I have much more to say; but a word to the wise. Pray keep

yourselves from all sorts of elections. They are, to my certain knowledge, very corrupting. Great changes, and dreadful, seem to be impending. The Church of France has fallen; but she has attained great glory in her fall. No church, no state, is secure from external violence; but the internal part is under the protection of their own virtues, and of God's justice. Adieu! my dear sir,

Your most faithful,
and unhappy friend,
EDM. BURKE.

St. Patrick's Day.

MESSRS. BYRNE AND KEOGH TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

London, March 19, 1795.

DEAR SIR,

It is with a considerable degree of surprise we learn that it has been confidently asserted, that the deputation, which had the honour to present the petition of the Catholics of Ireland to his Majesty in 1793, had then declared, on their behalf, that, if the restrictions which were removed by the act of that year were done away, the Catholics would rest contented, and make no further application for relief.

In the first place, no such compact was ever made by us, or with our knowledge, neither had we any power to make it; and, indeed, it is evident, from the nature of things, that no persons could undertake such a compact on the part of a whole people; nor could any minister receive it under an idea of its being ratified. But what renders it impossible that we could have made such stipulations is, that, until our return to Ireland, and until the bill was framed, we were utterly uninformed as to what was intended to be granted, and what withheld; and, consequently, we could not say that, if so much were conceded, the Catholics would acquiesce and make no further application. Indeed, the minister with whom we had the honour to converse never required us to enter into any engagements, which, from their very nature, could not be fulfilled; and we are happy, from the fairness and candour which we uniformly experienced from Mr. Dundas, to be able to refer with confidence to him, in support of the statement which we have now the honour to make.

Feeling as we do the great obligations the Catholic body, as well as ourselves individually, owe to you, we make no apology for troubling you with this letter, and requesting you will have the goodness to explain the contents of it, wherever misrepresentation may have rendered explanation

necessary, we have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

Dear Sir,

Your most obliged and obedient humble servants,

EDM. BYRNE.

JOHN KEOGH.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO REV. DR. HUSSEY.

Beconsfield, May 18, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR,

I don't know exactly why I am so unwilling to write by the post. I have little to say that might not be known to the world; at the same time, there is something unpleasant in talking the confidential language of friendship in the public theatre. It is still worse to put it into the power of any one to make unfaithful representations of it, or to make it the subject of malicious comments. I thank you for your letter; it is full of that good sense and good temper, as well as of that fortitude, which are natural to you. Since persons of so much greater authority than I am, and of so much better judgment, are of opinion you ought to stay, it was clearly right for you to

remain at all risks. Indeed, if it could be done with tolerable safety, I wished you to watch over the cradle of those seminaries, on which the future weal or woe of Ireland essentially depends. For you, I dread the revolutionary tribunal of Drogheda. For the country, if some proper mode of education is not adopted, I tremble for the spread of atheism amongst the Catholics. I do not like the style of the meeting [2] in Francis-street. The tone was wholly Jacobinical. In parliament, the language of your friends (one only excepted,) was what it ought to be. But that one speech, though full of fire and animation, was not warmed with the fire of heaven. I am sorry for it. I have seen that gentleman but once. He is certainly a man of parts; but one who has dealt too much in the philosophy of France. Justice, prudence, tenderness, moderation, and Christian charity, ought to become the measures of tolerance; and not a cold apathy, or indeed, rather a savage hatred, to all religion, and an avowed contempt of all those points on which we differ, and on those about which we agree. If what was said in Francis-street was in the first heat, it might be excused. They were given to understand that a change of administration, short only of a revolution in vio-

[2] The assembly of the Roman Catholics held April 9th, 1795, in Francis-street chapel.

lence, was made, only on account of a disposition in a Lord-Lieutenant to favour Catholics. Many provoking circumstances attended the business; not the least of them was, that they saw themselves delivered over to their enemies, on no other apparent ground of merit than that they were such. All this is very true; but under every provocation they ought not to be irritated by their enemies out of their principles, and out of their senses. The language of the day went plainly to a separation of the two kingdoms. God forbid, that any thing like it should ever happen! They would both be ruined by it; but Ireland would suffer most and first. The thing, however, is impossible. Those who should attempt that improbability would be undone. If ever the arms, which, indirectly, these orators seem to menace, were to be taken up, surely the threat of such a measure is not wise, as it could add nothing to their strength, but would give every possible advantage to their enemies. It is a foolish language, adopted from the united Irishmen, that their grievances originate from England. The direct contrary. It is an ascendency which some of their own factions have obtained here, that has hurt the Catholics with this government. It is not as an English government that ministers act in that manner, but as assisting a party in Ireland. When they talk of dissolving themselves as a

Catholic body, and mixing their grievances with those of their country, all I have to say is, that they lose their own importance as a body by this amalgamation; and they sink real matters of complaint in those which are factious and imaginary. For, in the name of God, what grievance has Ireland, as Ireland, to complain of with regard to Great Britain; unless the protection of the most powerful country upon earth,—giving all her privileges, without exception, in common to Ireland, and reserving to herself only the painful pre-eminence of ten-fold burthens, be a matter of complaint. The subject, as a subject, is as free in Ireland as he is in England. As a member of the empire, an Irishman has every privilege of a natural-born Englishman, in every part of it, in every occupation, and in every branch of commerce. No monopoly is established against him anywhere; and the great staple manufacture of Ireland is not only not prohibited, not only not discouraged, but it is privileged in a manner that has no example. The provision trade is the same; nor does Ireland, on her part, take a single article from England, but what she has with more advantage than she could have it from any nation upon earth. I say nothing of the immense advantage she derives from the use of the English capital. In what country upon earth is it, that a quantity of linens, the moment they are lodged in

the warehouse, and before the sale, would entitle the Irish merchant or manufacturer to draw bills on the terms, and at the time, in which this is done by the warehouseman on London? Ireland, therefore, as Ireland, whether it be taken civilly, constitutionally, or commercially, suffers no grievance. The Catholics, as Catholics, do; and what can be got by joining their real complaint to a complaint which is fictitious, but to make the whole pass for fiction and groundless pretence? I am not a man for construing with too much rigour the expressions of men under a sense of ill-usage. I know that much is to be given to passion; and I hope I am more disposed to accuse the person who provokes another to anger, than the person who gives way to natural feelings in hot language. If this be all, it is no great matter; but, if anger only brings out a plan that was before meditated, and laid up in the mind, the thing is more serious. The tenor of the speeches in Francis-street, attacking the idea of an incorporating union between the two kingdoms, expressed principles that went the full length of a separation, and of a dissolution of that union, which arises from their being under the same crown. That Ireland would, in that case, come to make a figure amongst the nations, is an idea which has more of the ambition of individuals in it, than of a sober regard to the happiness of a whole people.

But if a people were to sacrifice solid quiet to empty glory, as on some occasions they have done; under the circumstances of Ireland, *she*, most assuredly, never would obtain that independent glory, but would certainly lose all her tranquillity, all her prosperity, and even that degree of lustre which she has, by the very free and very honourable connexion she enjoys with a nation the most splendid and the most powerful upon earth. Ireland, *constitutionally*, is independent; *politically*, she never can be so. It is a struggle against nature. She must be protected, and there is no protection to be found for her, but either from France or England. France, even if (under any form she may assume) she were disposed to give the same liberal and honourable protection to Ireland, has not the means, of either serving or hurting her, that are in the hands of Great Britain. She might make Ireland (supposing that kind of independence could be maintained, which for a year I am certain it could not) a dreadful thorn in the side of this kingdom; but Ireland would dearly buy that malignant and infernal satisfaction, by a dependence upon a power, either despotic, as formerly, or anarchical, as at present. We see, well enough, the kind of liberty which she either enjoys herself, or is willing to bestow on others. This I say with regard to the scheme of those who call themselves United Irishmen; that is to say, of those

who, without any regard to religion, club all kinds of discontents together, in order to produce all kinds of disorders. But to speak to Catholics, as such, it is plain that whatever security they enjoy for their religion, as well as for the many solid advantages which, even under the present restrictions, they are entitled to, depends wholly upon their connexion with this kingdom. France is an enemy to all religion; but eminently, and with a peculiar malignity, an enemy to the Catholic religion, which they mean, if they can, to extirpate throughout the globe. It is something perverse, and even unnatural, for Catholics to hear even the sound of a connexion with France; unless, under the colour and pretext of a religious description, they should, as some have done in this country, form themselves into a mischievous political faction. Catholics, as things now stand, have all the splendid abilities, and much of the independent property in parliament in their favour, and every Protestant (I believe with very few exceptions) who is really a Christian. Should they alienate these men from their cause, their choice is amongst those, who, indeed, may have ability, but not wisdom or temper in proportion; and whose very ability is not equal, either in strength or exercise, to that which they lose. They will have to choose men of desperate property, or of no property; and men of no religious, and no moral principle.

Without a Protestant connexion of some kind or other, they cannot go on; and here are the two sorts of descriptions of Protestants between whom they have an option to make. In this state of things, their situation, I allow, is difficult and delicate. If the better part lies by, in a sullen silence, they still cannot hinder the more factious part both from speaking and from writing; and the sentiments of those who are silent will be judged by the effusions of the people, who do not wish to conceal thoughts that the sober part of mankind will not approve. On the other hand, if the better and more temperate part come forward to disclaim the others, they instantly make a breach in their own party, of which a malignant enemy will take advantage to crush them all. They will praise the sober part, but they will grant them nothing they shall desire; nay, they will make use of their submission as a proof that sober men are perfectly satisfied in remaining prostrate under their oppressive hands. These are dreadful dilemmas; and they are such as ever will arise, when men in power are possessed with a crafty malignant disposition, without any real wisdom or enlarged policy.

However, as, in every case of difficulty, there is a better way of proceeding and a worse, and that some medium may be found between an abject and, for that reason, an imprudent submission, and a contumacious, absurd resistance,—

what I would humbly suggest is, that on occasion of the declamations in the newspaper, they should make, not an apology, (for that is dishonourable and dangerous,) but a strong charge on their enemies for defamation; disclaiming the tenets, practices, and designs, impudently attributed to them, and asserting, in cool, modest, and determined language, their resolution to assert the privileges to which, as good citizens and good subjects, they hold themselves entitled, without being intimidated or wearied out by the opposition of the monopolists of the kingdom. In this, there will be nothing mean or servile, or which can carry any appearance of the effect of fear; but the contrary. At the same time, it will remove the prejudices which, on this side of the water as well as on yours, are propagated against you with so much systematic pains. I think the committee would do well to do something of this kind in their own name. I trust those men of great ability in that committee, who incline to think that the Catholics ought to melt down their cause into the general mass of uncertain discontents and unascertained principles, will, I hope, for the sake of agreeing with those whom, I am sure, they love and respect among their own brethren, as well as for the sake of the kingdom at large, waive that idea (which I do not deny to be greatly provoked) of dissolving the Catholic body before

the objects of its union are obtained, and turning the objects of their relief into a national quarrel. This, I am satisfied, on recollection, they will think not irrational. The course taken by the enemy often becomes a fair rule of action. You see, by the whole turn of the debate against them, that their adversaries endeavoured to give this colour to the contest, and to make it hinge on this principle. The same policy cannot be good for you and your enemies. Sir George Shee, who is so good to take this, waits, or I should say more on this point. I should say something too of the colleges. I long much to hear how you go on. I have, however, said too much. If Grattan, by whom I wish the Catholics to be wholly advised, thinks differently from me, I wish the whole unsaid. You see, Lord Fitzwilliam sticks nobly to his text, and neither abandons his cause or his friends, though he has few indeed to support him. When you can, pray let me hear from you. Mrs. Burke and myself, in this lonely and disconsolate house, never cease to think of you as we ought to do. I send some prints to Dublin; but, as your house is not there, I reserve a memorial of my dear Richard for your return.

I am ever, my dear Sir,
Faithfully, and affectionately,
Your miserable friend,
EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO EDMUND MALONE, ESQ.

Beconsfield, May 22, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR,

It is very true that my business with the House of Lords is over for the present[3]; for they have, or a *rump* of them, done their own business pretty handsomely. Fuerunt. There is an end of that part of the constitution; nor can it be revived but by means that I tremble to think of.

That business, however, was not what hindered me from obeying your commands, and following my own inclinations about our excellent deceased friend Sir Joshua Reynolds. Alas! my dear sir, all my business is with the deceased; and in truth, except for a poor remnant of gross animal functions, I am dead myself. However, I will do what I can. The more I thought upon that subject, the more difficulty I found in it. The very qualities which made the society of our late friend so pleasant to all who knew him, are the very things that make it difficult to write his life, or to draw his character. The former part is peculiarly difficult, as it had little connexion with great public events, nor was it diversified with much change of fortune, or much private

[3] By the conclusion of the trial of Hastings.

adventure, hardly, indeed, any adventure at all. All that I could say of him, I have said already in that short sketch which I printed after his death. This speaks as much as I could safely venture to speak of him as an artist, not having skill enough to enter into details on the subject. What you are to say of the character, merely as the character of a man, must, to have any effect, consist rather of a few light marking touches than of a long discussion; unless it relates to some of those various and perplexed characters which require a long investigation to unfold. If, without materials, one is to attempt any thing of length and elaborate, there is a great danger of growing into affectation. I do not know whether you have the sketch I drew. It has marks of the haste and the emotion under which it was done. But I believe you will find that a great deal more cannot be said. If, however, (for different minds see things in different points of view,) you should turn your thoughts that way, and sketch out any thing, if I might presume to intrude myself into a work of yours, I would work upon that ground, and perhaps something better could be done by such combination than singly.

Lady Inchiquin called here the other day; she is not anxious that the work should be published till the beginning of winter. I certainly will turn my thoughts to it; and if you could come to this

melancholy place, I should feel myself much honoured and very happy in seeing you.

I have the honour to be, with most sincere respect and affection,

My dear Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
EDM. BURKE.

What a loss is Clifden![4]—Compliments to Mrs. Metcalf.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO REV. DR. HUSSEY.

Not dated—probably June or July, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR,

You will easily believe that I am in the highest degree interested in any thing with which you are concerned, and most particularly in the object by which you are detained in Ireland. For a long time I have had no information, or nothing which deserves the name, about what you are doing. I wrote to you by Sir George Shee. I hope you have got that letter; not that it contains any thing very material, but because I hope you will not think me inattentive to you, or to your most important pursuit. If that business

[4] The residence of Lord Inchiquin, destroyed by fire.

is conducted as it ought to be, and as surely it will be (if the hands of jobbers are kept out of it), I expect more good from it, than from any thing which has happened in our age. I hear, and am extremely alarmed at hearing, that the chancellor and the chiefs of the benches are amongst your trustees. If this be the case, so as to give them the power of intermeddling, I must fairly say, that I consider, not only all the benefit of the institution to be wholly lost, but that a more mischievous project never was set on foot. I should much sooner make your college according to the first act of parliament, as a subordinate department of our Protestant university,—absurd as I always thought that plan to be,—than make you the instrument or instruments of the jobbing system. I am sure that the constant meddling of the bishops and the clergy with the Castle, and of the Castle with them, will infallibly set them ill with their own body. All the weight which hitherto the clergy have had in keeping the people quiet will be wholly lost, if once this should happen. At best, you will soon have a marked schism, and more than one kind; and I am very much mistaken if this very thing is not intended, and diligently and systematically pursued. I am steadily of my old opinion, that this affair had better be wholly dropped; and the government boon, with civility and acknowledg-

ment, declined, than to subject yourselves and your religion to your known and avowed enemies, who connect their very interest with your humiliation, and found their own reputation on the destruction of yours. I have said so much on this point already, that I shall trouble you no more about it.

As to the committee of the lay Catholics, I was very sorry for a tone of Jacobinism that was adopted by some of its principal members; but still more that it has been dissolved. The bad principle might have been kept under; but nothing ever can save you without some committee of the kind. I wish something of the sort re-established. Your enemies are embodied; what becomes of you if you are only individuals?

Mr. Hay[4], of the county of Wexford, who came hither with the address of the Catholics of that part of Ireland, is on his return to you, and takes this with him. I like him very much. He is a zealous, spirited, and active young man. He has one project in hand of great extent and some difficulty, but likely to be of great use. It is to make an exact numeration of the inhabitants of Ireland, distinguishing their religion. The specimen he has shown me of it is perfect; and I have no doubt that, with the assistance of the

[4] Edward Hay, Esq., author of an account of the rebellion in the county of Wexford.

Catholic clergy, without whom nothing of the sort can be done, a very useful work towards every plan of political economy will be formed. I am sure every one must be sensible of the truth of Lord Fitzwilliam's remark on seeing it, that the depression of the Catholics is not the persecution of a *sect*, but tyranny over a people. In three of the provinces of Ireland (out of the cities) it is almost literally true; in substance and effect it is true of the whole. In the part marked in his paper, the Protestants are not as *one* to *forty*; and on the whole, I do not think that the county of Wexford is much more Catholic than the other counties of Leinster and Munster. I know that an ill handle may be made of this work; but so there is, and will be, of every thing done for the good of that country. But this invidious representation is not of so much prejudice as the knowledge of important truths will be of advantage to you, to the country, and to a considerate government. Mr. Hay is so good as to take over to you some books of your late dear friend, to be presented as memorials of the deceased to the new college, or to that of Carlow, as you think best.

I am ever, my dear sir,
Most affectionately and faithfully yours,
EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE REV. DR. HUSSEY.

Beconsfield, August 24, 1795[5].

MY DEAR SIR,

It is very difficult to advise. You are so good as to wish my opinion; and you have an abundant title to command me in everything. The political line is likely to be of the greatest benefit; the college business is the more certain good. The former depends wholly on the disposition and wishes of the only efficient minister. Without, not only his consent, but his desire, the very first movements ought not to be made by you. But I would not, by going too precipitately to Ireland, put the alternative out of the question. I really long very much to see you. We certainly might discuss these matters more to our mutual satisfaction in an hour or two's conversation, than in a hundred letters. There are certainly topics, very necessary to the determination, on which I do not like to commit my thoughts to paper. If you throw yourself into one of the early coaches, you would be here very quickly, and might return in the same way the next morning. However, if we

[5] In the interval between the date of the last letter from Mr. Burke to Dr. Hussey and this, the latter left Ireland for England, and seems not to have returned till the following year, when he was appointed president of the College at Maynooth, established by an act of the Irish Parliament in 1795.

were to toss the matter about, not only with ourselves, but with the nominal ministers for twenty days, we could only end as we began. However, we may discuss the question hypothetically; and at any rate, I should enjoy your society for so long, which would in truth be a great consolation to me. As to Spain, it certainly has been, and long will be, an enigma; not from the depth, but from the perplexity of its politics, made up of a complication of treachery and weakness. I doubt whether on our part, we have done all that in us lay to treat that patient according to the nature of his malady. Mrs. Burke desires to be most cordially remembered to you. Thank God we have a promising time for the harvest, which however with us is rather late. A great deal of my wheat is hardly got ripe, and I doubt it will be very light in the ear.

My dear sir, with most true respect
and regard, ever faithfully
and affectionately yours,
EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE REV. DR. HUSSEY.

Beconsfield, September 26, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR,

If you are returned, don't forget your kind intentions towards me. We shall talk over this Irish

college. As to the rest, everything is gone far beyond my reach. I have only to lament. This is for the present all I have to say. My private business is in a good train, and seems nearly finished. But even if it were better than it is, and if I had not a domestic feeling that makes circumstances of fortune (other than as they are subservient to justice) incapable of giving me any delight, the state of the public would leave my mind in the thickest gloom of sorrow.

Ever your faithful and unhappy friend,

EDMUND BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE REV. DR. HUSSEY.

November 28, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR,

We are not in a pleasant way anywhere;—in Ireland I fear as ill almost as can be. In truth, all these distempers pass my skill. The Catholics have foolishly, in all senses, disarmed themselves. If the disarmament had been common to all descriptions of disorderly persons, the measure would have been excellent. But where one description of armed rioters consented to become peaceful subjects, to keep up another set of armed rioters, and those, too, the original rioters, who first pro-

voked the rest, is a policy belonging to our unhappy time and country. You cannot resist the low tyranny of the sort of wretches who, instead of governing, pillage Ireland, without the revival of the Catholic committee; and I see, as things stand, no way of reviving that without completely unmuzzling Jacobinism. Unfortunately, by the dismissal of Lord Fitzwilliam, that infernal spirit which his wisdom, temper, and virtue, had in a manner extinguished everywhere, broke out in that committee; and Keogh, the ablest man I ever saw amongst the Catholics, or indeed in any description, for gaining, and conducting, and overpowering common understandings, from being either neutralized or precipitated, got again afloat in the mass, and was more sharp and bitter than ever he had been.

It was my wish, if possible, that the committee should exist, if you remember, and be purged of Jacobinism. Without somebody to act for that unhappy people,—their enemies now possessed of far more power than ever, and embodied in the very citadel of government,—they must be crushed to atoms. It is a dire dilemma. I wish I could see you, and talk over some plan that, without the aid of Jacobinism, or meeting, could afford them relief. My hopes here are dull indeed. The Duke of Portland is the official channel; but he, unfortunately, being the very man who destroyed

the Catholics, and his own friend, and himself, for ever, it would be ridiculous to apply to him,—to the man who sent out Pelham. Dundas, I think, will hear you with the greatest temper of any. I fancy you had better write a letter to Lord Fitzwilliam, not on account of anything he can do for you, but from an attention he well deserves, and send him the extract. I wish to see the plan and elevation of the college. It ought not to cost so enormous a sum. The plan is, I hope, not that of the Catholics; and most assuredly they ought not to desire that vast sum to be voted at once for a mere building, nor even to suffer it to be done in their name. The funds for maintaining the students ought not to be squandered on their lodging; and I would a thousand times rather they were in the most miserable range of thatched cottages, well maintained, clothed, and taught, than that a palace should be built in which, after all, few might reside, and those few be utterly miserable. God bless you, and send us all better times. As to your Spanish news, I believe it perfectly to be feared. The times are bad, very bad;—great heart in the worst men; in the rest, miserable dejection.

Yours ever most truly,

EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE REV. DR. HUSSEY.

January 18, 1796.

My dear Sir,

I take it for granted that you have adverted to the proceedings in the county of Armagh[6], which have

[6] These were the proceedings which led to the remarkable address of Lord Gosford to the grand jury of that county, in which he makes use of the following expressions:—"It is no secret, that a persecution, accompanied with all the circumstances of ferocious cruelty, which have, in all ages, distinguished that dreadful calamity, is now raging in this county. Neither age nor sex, or even acknowledged innocence as to any guilt in the late disturbances, is sufficient to excite mercy, much less to afford protection.

"The only crime which the wretched objects of this ruthless persecution are charged with, is a crime, indeed, of easy proof; it is simply a profession of the Roman Catholic faith, or an intimate connexion with a person professing this faith. A lawless banditti have constituted themselves judges of this new species of delinquency, and the sentence they have denounced is equally concise and terrible. It is nothing less than a confiscation of all property, and an immediate banishment. * * * * * *

These horrors are now acting with impunity. The spirit of impartial justice (without which law is nothing better than an instrument of tyranny) has for a time disappeared in this county, and the supineness of the magistracy of Armagh is become a common topic of conversation in every corner of the kingdom."

been put in the back of the last leaf of the *Times*—Thursday, the 14th. It is an affair of the most extraordinary nature, and at any other period but this would have filled the kingdom with alarm. It certainly would have occupied the attention of all companies. I am not at all surprised at it, and consider it as one of the natural consequences of a measure better intended than considered,—that of the Catholic clergy persuading the laity to give in their arms. Dreadful it is, but it is now plain that Catholic *defenderism* is the only restraint upon Protestant *ascendency*. I take it for granted you will not go to Ireland without seeing me. I confess I wish it much, and I wish that you may set off as early as you can. Will Lord Fitzwilliam's friends suffer this insult on him and on themselves? Adieu! I reserve the rest for conversation. I am sick at all this, and at everything else. Sick, very sick! Adieu!

Yours very truly,

EDMUND BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO MRS. CREWE.

Friday night, February 26, 1796.

WE give you a thousand thanks for your truly friendly solicitude about the remnants of this house. Mrs. Burke, the night before last, was

taken as ill as ever of the very same complaint, and passed a terrible time in the greatest pain. Last night a blister was applied, which was attended with the same good effects as before, though its operation for her relief was not so speedy. But, I bless God for it, she has passed the whole day free from pain; and though not in a condition to be taken up, is easy and in reasonably good spirits. The blister is off, and this night is to be the test; though I confess I fear from these raw easterly winds, which are likely to continue. They certainly were the cause of her relapse, though she was not exposed to them directly. I think you were perfectly in the right not to put yourself in the way of jail fevers, or indeed, into the way of getting colds at this season. All that we English have to do with this school is to protect it, to preserve it from wrong and fraud, and to feed it as well as we can[7]. In this we shall

[7] Mr. Burke here alludes to a proposal of his, for providing a school for the education of children of French emigrants, which is given in the letter of the Marquis of Buckingham to Mr. Pitt, at p. 337 of this volume. The school was established upon the plan suggested by Mr. Burke; and opened in the month of April, of this year. He paid the greatest attention to it during the remainder of his life; visiting it daily when his health permitted, the distance from Beaconsfield to Penn being about three miles; giving advice and assistance to both masters and scholars, and supplying their table with various articles from his farm and garden, and the institution

imitate our grand committee, who wisely appointed French committees to act for them, both as to the management and to the choice of objects. I certainly, for one, shall not name a boy,—no, not one; nor attempt to direct an article of education. It shall be amongst themselves;—that is, with their bishops, and half a dozen of the most considerable of their nobility; otherwise, I should do more harm than good. I shall be only their agent and steward. I believe you will find how religiously, if the trustees employ me, I shall observe this rule.

As to the Bedford letter, I expect that his party will dislike it of course; as to the composition, even when I was in the world, that was always in my mind very subordinate. I give the matter to the disposition of the parties;—the style I abandon to the critics. I have done what I owed to my own memory, and to that of one better than I am, as well as to those who were willing to give to my creditors what they were pleased to think the public owed to me. I thank them. I thank God. I have no more to say on that head. I shall desire the printer to send you the third edition, which is clear of the blundering in the pages, which turns the thing into nonsense in the most critical part. Adieu! my dear Mrs. Crewe.

with other useful matters, which the strict economy of the foundation denied from its own funds.

Hasten the school business, for I long to be at the house. If they chicane about the odd four hundred pounds, I will go on upon my first proposal; but I shall be out of pocket:—It is no matter. Mrs. Burke says all manner of things. Adieu! Adieu!

Yours most sincerely,
EDMUND BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO MRS. CREWE.

March 3, 1796.

DEAR MRS. CREWE,

I certainly have written to you since Mrs. Burke's last attack, and you have acknowledged the letter; but, in the multiplicity of your excellent occupations, you have forgot it. From the time of the application of the second blister, she mended every hour, and passed her time (however, without stirring out of her room,) very pleasantly till the evening of yesterday. She was then, by sudden and sharp pains, though not of long continuance, threatened with a serious return. But the night which we dreaded so much passed off tolerably; and now, when I write, at eight in the evening, she is up, much easier, and in good spirits.

In my last I congratulated you on the wonderful things you have done. I never doubted of the

good nature of the French ladies, nor of my old friend, if, through resentment, (not perhaps ill-founded,) he had not bedevilled and be-jacobinized himself. It is what has happened to many able and honourable men. I know but one man, and he the most provoked, who is proof against it. The business of the school astonishes me. When you were here, I understood it was settled. The Duke of Portland laughed at any difficulties which could be made about such a trifle, and undertook it with Mr. Pitt. The Marquis of Buckingham was to settle it on his part. The rent for an useless house is paid in Windham's office. What! with all these dukes, marquises, cabinet-ministers, secretaries of state, and secretaries at war, cast-off lord-lieutenants of Ireland and their secretaries —cannot this miserable little affair of fifty pound a month be done between them—with the aid, too, of all the lady-marchionesses and lady-knights of the shire? The Bishop of Leon told me the thing was as good as done. You desired me to write the memorial (which you again desire me to write). I wrote it, and gave it to yourself to put into the Marquis's hands. You desired me to write to the said Marquis, as he would be pleased with a letter from me. I wrote to him, and informed you I had done so. No fruit from all this!—O! but write:—the public wants information, &c. &c. I told you over and over again, that I did not wish to transact this affair with the public at all,

but with Mr. Pitt, through those friends of his who have weight with him. If that will not do, nothing will do. It is not to be provided by subscription, but on the government allowance (civil or military) given to emigrants. It is a trifling addition; and if complained of, perhaps this trifle is the most justifiable thing in the whole mass. It must be defended as all the rest is defended. My wish is, that, instead of making a great rout and fuss about it, as little should be said as possible of this little obscure business of a village, in which there are already three schools without any one knowing anything of the matter. These are my ideas. These are my wishes. If this won't do with all your aid, I can't help it. God's will be done. I am ready at a moment's warning; and of the advance money, desire no more than two hundred pounds at a time. The first two hundred to begin with, and the rest as soon as I want it. Now as to the pamphlet—that is as short. A stab was attempted on my reputation, and on the goods of my creditors. Dukes and earls chose to be the assassins. I have appealed to the people against their pretended friends. They have now, the second time, given judgment in my favour. That's enough. As to you, you are in a worse situation than the dependants on insolent great ladies. They swallow nothing but toads; but you, who pay court to us scribblers, must swallow

whales—blubber and all. To a lady of Greenland, however, this would be no penalty. You were in the right to appeal to Windham. He is the only gentleman in England who ever was on a whale fishery. He knows how to stick a harpoon in their blubber better than any one. However, his stomach could not stand the blubber-ship, and he got on shore in Norway. I have had a kind letter from the Bishop of Waterford[8], "The best good man with the worst-natured muse." Remember to his lordship, perhaps, the oldest acquaintance he has. He is now the oldest I have. Oh! what hosts of enemies am I preparing for myself[9]! But what have the dead to fear from enemies? Pray remember me most affectionately to Mr. Crewe. If he forgets, I do not, his kind behaviour to me, at the time of my expulsion from the party.

Ever his and yours,

EDMUND BURKE.

March 3rd, 1796.—I forget what day of *Frimaire*—or is it *Fremaire?* Mrs. Burke, to whom I have gone up and read what I wrote, remembers the lame to you. The Havilands and the Hickeys are in town. She is left to the other lame and blind.

[8] Dr. Richard Marley.

[9] Mr, Burke alludes to the publication of "Thoughts on a Regicide Peace," which appeared in the summer of this year.

MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT.

March 10, 1796.

DEAR SIR,

I enclose to you the outlines of the very benevolent and excellent plan of Mr. Burke, for the education of some of the many unhappy children of the emigrant nobility of France. Those who have served in our pay, or have perished in our service, or are still employed by us, appear to have the strongest claims upon such an establishment for their children; and from this consideration, it has been suggested that the expenses of it should be defrayed, with peculiar propriety, from the funds voted for the extraordinaries of the army. He has done me the honour of proposing my name to be added to that of the Duke of Portland and of Grenville, as one of the trustees of this institution. I am persuaded that, in doing so, he did not imagine that any name could be a better guarantee to the public, for the proper conduct of it, than his own; but, as he conceives that, from local considerations, I may be able to assist him, I shall with pleasure co-operate with him, if this idea should meet the approbation of the king's servants.

The communications which I have had with Mr. Windham on this subject enable me to say, that he is ready to order the house at Penn to be delivered up to Mr. Burke, whenever the determination is taken to accede to this proposition.

I do not presume to add one word in recommendation of a plan which does so much honour to the political and benevolent sentiments of Mr. Burke, but I would request, for reasons very obvious, that the decision may be taken immediately.

I am, dear sir,
Your very faithful and obedient servant,
NUGENT BUCKINGHAM.

Proposal by the RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE *relative to the* Penn School.

THE circumstance the most unpleasant in the expulsion of the gentlemen of France, is the situation of their children; particularly the children of those who are now serving in the emigrant corps, or who have been engaged in military service, many of whom have perished while in the British pay.

They are growing up in poverty and wretchedness, and inevitably mixed with the children of the lowest of the people, in the miserable lanes

and alleys of London, in which the poverty of their parents obliges them chiefly to reside.

From wretchedness and bad company, the transition is easy to desperate vice and wickedness. In this bad society they grow up without any sort of education.

If Providence should restore them to their country, they will be utterly incapable of filling up their place in society;—no small calamity to all nations, to have France the receptacle of noble or ignoble barbarians.

If they are to remain in perpetual exile, they are nothing less than trained to Botany Bay or the gallows; a horrible reflection to gentlemen, who will naturally feel for children of unfortunate gentlemen.

There is a mode of preventing this, at a very small additional charge. Already their parents are allowed, from the government bounty, at the rate of a guinea a month for each child who has no other resource.

There is a large and commodious house already rented by government for three years, for which government has no use, and is obliged to pay. It is in the parish of Penn, in the county of Bucks, in a healthy and retired situation.

It is perfectly capable of accommodating sixty boys, with the necessary tutors. These tutors

already receive a small allowance, so that (except the table with the rest) they will be of no charge, for they are to have no salaries.

A gentleman in the neighbourhood will undertake with government, under the direction of the Marquis of Buckingham, the Duke of Portland, and Lord Grenville, as trustees, and accountable to them for the whole establishment, on the following terms:—

First, that he shall have assured to him, from the Committee of French Emigrants, the regular monthly payment of whatsoever the boys would receive from them, namely, the guinea a month.

The only addition he requires is fifty pounds a month, or six hundred pounds a year, assured by monthly payments. One thousand pounds for the furnishing the house, in two payments;—one of six hundred pounds immediately; the other four hundred, three months after the house shall be actually occupied, to provide the additional furniture, linen, clothing, &c. These several sums to be paid monthly, and at the periods fixed for them, to Mr. Lukin, agent to the French corps in British pay, from and out of the sum voted for the extraordinaries of the army, as the objects of this institution are more immediately connected with the military establishment.

For this he engages that these boys shall be

well fed, lodged, clothed, and instructed, in a manner not wholly unbecoming persons intended to fill a decent situation in life.

JOHN BOWLES, ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Great Ormond-street, March 11, 1796.

SIR,

Every work which is meant to rouse the public mind to a sense of the extreme and imminent danger to which society is exposed, and of the necessity of unprecedented vigilance, activity, and exertion, to repel that danger, is a proper offering to the man who first sounded the alarm to which, in all probability, we are indebted for having escaped so long. On this ground, sir, I beg your permission to present to you a few tracts which I have published at different periods of a war which I consider as our only refuge, until the principles which originally produced it shall have been entirely defeated. In contributing my feeble endeavours in aid of a cause, the noblest that ever stood in need of human assistance, I am sensible that I enlisted under your banners; and, as I still think that the *temporal* salvation of mankind depends upon their eyes being opened on

their real situation, I rejoice beyond description at the promise of another warning from your monitory pen, against the catastrophe which, in happy and appropriate language, you term a *regicide peace.*

I have the honour to be,
With the greatest respect, sir,
Your most obedient servant,
JOHN BOWLES.

I am sorry to observe, that the binder has transposed the two last tracts—"Thoughts on the origin and formation of political constitutions," and "The dangers of premature peace;"—the latter of which he should have placed before the other.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO JOHN BOWLES, ESQ.

March 12, 1796.

SIR,

The coach of yesterday brought me the collection of your tracts upon the most interesting of all subjects. I did not choose to write to you until I could fairly say that I had read them. I cannot even now assert that I have gone over them with the attention that, most surely, they deserve.

It requires much apology, perhaps, for my former negligence, when I am obliged to confess that,—except one, and that the, by no means, most laboured of them,—I had never had the satisfaction of reading any of them before. My apology is, that, for the two last years of my public service, I have been most painfully and disagreeably employed in bringing to a conclusion that principal act which is to be the glory or the shame of my whole public life[1]. It has ended in a manner, I trust, not discreditable to me, but fatal to the interests of mankind, and to the very existence of law; ruinous to the interests, and completely disgraceful to the honour and justice, of a nation which might have been expected to furnish shining examples of regard to law, to equity, to morality, as well as a marked hatred of corruption, tyranny, and oppression.

When that work was done, my mind, by various public and private afflictions, was thrown into a state not easy to be described, and from which I have merely a respite but by denying myself, which I have done for months together, all reading of any public matter, even so much as the newspaper. About the beginning of the last session, I was roused from this melancholy sort of

[1] This is not the only occasion upon which Mr. Burke refers to the prosecution of Mr. Hastings, as the most important labour of his life.

repose by finding that the ministers began to court a peace. I turned my thoughts again to that subject, and had written, and even printed, a considerable part of a series of letters on that subject. I thought to publish them, as they lie by me, finished according to my powers; but no partiality to myself can persuade me to refuse justice to you. You have pre-occupied me in the most material points. You have gone to the bottom of the subject with intelligence, perspicuity, force, and eloquence. I really do not know that I have done any thing more than to follow in your track. The whole substance of the cause is to be found from the 14th to the 23rd page of your "*Farther Reflections.*" I cannot think my publication necessary. If what you have written will not prevent this nation from bringing on itself the sure punishment of its faults, nothing I can publish will be of the least use. Much has been done by you and Mr. Gifford; so much, that if my friends should persevere in recommending the publication I have suspended, I shall cancel the first leaf or two, to commence with this act of justice, or shall add a postscript to the same effect. It is to betray a cause, not to do full justice to our fellow-labourers.

I am, &c. &c.

EDM. BURKE.

RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Downing-street, Tuesday, 1796.

MY DEAR LORD,

I will give immediate directions for the appointment you mention in the stamp-office. Before I quite decide on Mr. Burke's school, I wish to have an opportunity of mentioning it to the person whom he refers to, which I shall be able to do; and I have kept the memorandum for that purpose. I will let you know the result.

Faithfully yours,
W. PITT.

RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Downing-street, March 24, 1796.

MY DEAR LORD,

No difficulty occurs respecting the issue proposed for Mr. Burke's school; and I do not see why it may not originate at the Treasury, without his having the trouble of making any further application.

Faithfully yours,
W. PITT.

DR. HUSSEY TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

London, June 18, 1796.

My dear Sir,

I saw Bishop Douglas yesterday, and he promised to send the Catholic English clergyman, without delay, to the school under your protection. He says that there are two of them, now at the new establishment, under his care, in Hertfordshire; and as soon as he has settled with them which of the two is to wait upon you, he will inform you.

I dined yesterday at the Duke of Portland's. He spoke of you with great friendship. He showed the letter from the Lord-Lieutenant to me. I did not think it necessary to inform him that I had any knowledge of its contents. He laid it before his Majesty on Wednesday, who condescended to express his approbation of my conduct. I spent an hour yesterday morning with Earl Fitzwilliam. He is invariably the same man of high honour, firm principle, and pure wisdom. The hour of imminent danger may yet arrive, when the safety of Ireland will require his presence there. A gazette announcing his having a foot on Irish ground would instantly quell the most raging ferment. There is a credit attached to his name in that country that would stifle every

murmur, until all cause of complaint could, in due time, be removed. The conciliatory temper of mind of the present Lord-Lieutenant[2], has produced most admirable effects towards the tranquillity of the country; but still many are dissatisfied with the men in office, and fear the junto may pervert the good intentions of the chief governor.

I am, my dear sir,
With unalterable respect and attachment,
Ever yours,
T. HUSSEY.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO JOHN GEOGHEGAN, ESQ.[3]

Beconsfield, June 20, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR,

I congratulate myself and all your friends on the vigour and spirit of your eighty-four, and I heartily wish, and now indeed hope, that you will live to see a better century, with better omens than those with which we seem so near closing the

[2] Earl Camden.

[3] An Irish gentleman, of considerable literature and large landed property, whose acquaintance Mr. Burke had formed in early life. M. de Montesquieu was married to Mr. Geoghegan's daughter, who had inherited his property.

present. Alas! my dear sir, my house has no hope. But I ought thankfully to accept such consolations as it pleases God to give me. I make no visits since the day of my calamity. But when my old friends condescend to visit the remains of a family that has outstayed its time and the order of nature, I do not choose to shut my door to them. I do not wish to see many at once, nor can I make my house convenient or agreeable to them; for which reason, as I expect one or two in the course of this week, I must deny myself the pleasure of seeing you and Monsieur de Montesquieu till Monday, when I hope to profit of your goodness to Mrs. Burke and me.

I am, with most sincere respect and affection,

My dear sir, your faithful
and most obedient humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO JOHN GEOGHEGAN, ESQ.

June 22, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR,

You have been very good and charitable in wishing to visit this infirmary, where my wife, my poor old friend William Burke, and myself, are all lame;—Mrs. Burke of the very same lameness which took her some years ago without effect to Margate,

where we had the pleasure of seeing you; the sight of such a sympathising friend is a comfort to those who are no longer in society. Since my calamity I have not dined out of my own house; nor am I fond of receiving any new acquaintance; my business and my pleasure in this life being both of them completely over.

When I mentioned Mons. de Montesquieu, it was not as a man I wished to see on account of his own distinguished merit or the fame of his family, which the world is so full of, and to whose labours the world owes so much. It is as a part of an old friend that I, who refuse all new acquaintance, took the liberty of desiring him to accompany you;—our house has very little lodging room, and it is all we could do to lodge you two. Our settled family takes up four beds, and my old friend, Dr. Walker King, whom I have not seen for a good while, and whom I am not likely to see for this year again, we expect here with his wife and child. We have not a bed for a third person, so that I must deny myself for the present (and it is a real self-denial), the worthy and most respectable gentleman you proposed to accompany yourself, and your son the Baron. Alas! my dear friend, I am not what I was two years ago. Society is too much for my nerves. I sleep ill at night, and am drowsy and sleep much in the day. Every exertion of spirits which I make for the society I

cannot refuse; costs me much, and leaves me doubly heavy and dejected after it; such is the person you come to see, or rather the wreck of what was never a first-rate vessel. Such as I am, I feel infinitely for the kindness of those old friends who remember me with compassion; as to new, I never see one, but such French as come to visit the school which supplies to me the void in my own family, and is my only comfort; for the sake of that, I submit to see some who are still more miserable than I am.

Adieu! my dear sir, till Monday. Mrs. Burke and my niece salute you cordially.

Ever yours,

EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO MRS. CREWE.

November 7, 1796.

MY DEAR MRS. CREWE,

We have been here but indifferently for some time past. Mrs. Burke has had a blister for the pain in her limbs, which had grown to be very distressing. As to myself, I cannot say that I am, as I have been, at my worst; but in truth, I am not very far from it. But these things will mend, I trust, some way or other. This is enough on that unpleasant subject, which I only mention, as

the cause of our not having thanked you for those wonderful letters of yours, which no thanks can pay for, and for which no person living can make you a return in kind. Well, since you like my publication, I have not laboured in vain. I forgot to bring down to Mrs. Burke your letter to Windham, which he showed me when I was in town for a day, to swear at my little great rogue of a publisher [4]. I really think I have not seen anything so originally conceived or so well expressed. It beats, as I think, even what you said to her on the subject; which, however, is enough to satisfy the most voracious vanity. I wish the error of your good-nature had not led you to take for your subject anything of mine; for it makes (and it is the only thing that could make) the impartiality of my judgment suspected even by myself. I am told that it has put people in a mood a little unusual to them, which is all that, in my reason, I could expect. It has set them on thinking. One might imagine that the train of events, as they passed before their eyes, might have done that. Well, since it must be so, "let them think now who never thought before." However, things go on just as if they did not think at all. The ministers, with their own allies, the opposition,

[4] Mr. Burke alludes to the infidelity of a person he employed as a copier, and occasionally as an amanuensis, who pirated some of the manuscripts, and sold them to a bookseller.

like Mr. Bayes's two kings "smelling at the same nosegay" of nettles, go on lovingly, hatingly, the same Jacobin roads. They make no sort of preparation for war, in case the Malmesbury peace should not succeed, nor think of anything to guard against the hostilities of the peace if it should be made. They are afraid of an invasion of Ireland, and they prepare for the lame defence of England. We shall certainly be safe in the hands of those who have so well laboured for the preservation of the game. It was a lucky thought. I have no *manners;* I have a few *garrans*[9] indeed, and they are welcome to them!

You cannot think how delighted we were with your moral and political map of Cheshire, and the counties that border on it. What you say of all the squires, especially those of the second and third class of fortunes, is fatally but too true. They are inferior to the merchant and manufacturing castes. It is a pity. This in itself is a woful revolution; for that class of men were formerly the hope, the pride, and the strength of the country. They are infinitely reduced in their numbers; and if those who remain are reduced too in other respects, it is a bad story. What shall I say about all the idle talk about the emigrants? What answer can be given to vague general charges? As to the animals who, by

[9] An Irish term for a wretched worn-out hack.

their poisoned slaver, hope to kill the little virtue that exists in the world, I think it no want of charity to wish that they had been placed between the fire of the regicides and the rear of the Austrian army, in the late engagement; in which, out of 650 killed, there were four hundred French gentlemen of family and condition; most of them officers of twenty years' service, covered with the decorations of service or merit, and there employed and sacrificed as common soldiers; there, with unheard-of firmness, they bore the brunt of the engagement, and saved the army of that sovereign who had so inhumanly treated them and their king. Had your miserable slanderers been there, to make an intrenchment of their worthless carcasses, to save honour and virtue from so horrid a carnage, for the first time they would have been of some use. This is all I have to say of them, and of their low malignity. They who are licking the dust before the republicans, naturally slander those who face them in the field. I was nearly ending in indignation. Your friends here ought to begin and end in other sentiments when they turn to you. God Almighty bless you, and give to those who rule us better minds. Windham just this instant come in:—nine o'clock.

Nov. 8th. Windham is still here, and with great satisfaction we gave him your packets to read. We are sorry for the fidelity of your portraits;

however, we were pleased with the colouring and drawing, and wish they were devoid of likeness.

I forgot, very blameably, to say anything of Lady J. Douglas's wishes with regard to the presentation of a boy to Penn school. Her commands ought to be, as far as anything is in our power, a law to all who have any taste for goodness and humanity. The fact is, that the number for which government has made any provision had been full long before her ladyship's application. Besides, the young person for whom she has been so good as to interest herself, is not within the rules of reception. The preference is to be given to those whose parents or near relations (a melancholy title) have been killed in this war; and others according to the double title of rank and indigence. However, in no class have we room; inform Lady Jane of this, with every mark of my respect. Mrs. Burke again and again salutes you. No news, except such as makes one grieve and blush,—an evacuation of the Mediterranean, as a preliminary to a war with Spain. But I suppose this is to show how much in earnest we are for peace, by exposing our inability to make war.

EARL FITZWILLIAM TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Milton, November 10, 1796.

I THANK you, my dear Burke, for the verses of Mr. Eustace[1]. I won't pretend to that degree of cynical philosophy, as to be indifferent to the opinions of others. I am flattered and pleased by their good opinion, and very thankful when they allow me even the merit of good intentions—all I had to boast of in the business in question. But these verses do not meet with my applause merely as being grateful to the individual, but from feelings similar to yours. I admire them most as an instance of real principle, which always is accompanied, as in this case, by a high spirit and an independent mind,—qualities much out of fashion. Our language is sonorous and lofty in the extreme, but our principles and motives are low and grovelling; all time-serving, cunning, and indirect. To this we owe all the difficulties we now labour under; and owing to our always having (even when we seemed the most decided) a retreat in reserve, we are now making a most disgraceful figure in the eyes of all Europe. I hardly know whether it is not more ridiculous than contempt-

[1] The Rev. John Chetwode Eustace, a Roman Catholic clergyman, author of a Classical Tour in Italy.

ible. Our minister, sent specially to open a treaty for a general peace, can't answer the first question that obviously must be put to him. He cannot say whether those, for whom he offers to treat, will abide by his engagements. Ridiculous as it is, I do not conceive a possible case more mischievous in its consequences to us. The Directory could not have played their own game of disjoining confederacies against them, with half the effect that our ministry have done, by this inconsiderate, precipitate opening of a treaty. The Emperor must see himself virtually abandoned; if he is not actually so, he owes it to the Directory. Had they proceeded to treat with us, and had they granted something palatable to the public here, there was an end of our connexion with the Emperor. If we treat for a peace for the sake of popularity, how can we refuse a good one; indeed, how refuse any, seeking it, as we do, as a matter of *imperious necessity?* When I say a *good* one, I mean what would exhibit points for pompous declamation—such as might contain subject for boasting under the ancient order of things. It is to this view of things that the public is now directed by the measures and the language of ministry; fatally, I fear, but successfully. The public adopt this line in practice, though they agree with *you* in sentiment. Your pamphlet has made many converts, and confirmed numbers in

your principles; but they give the cause up for lost, because it is abandoned and reprobated by all in power and authority. Had ministers ever been sincere in those principles when they pretended to adopt them, or rather, had they proved their heartiness in the cause by the nature of the measures they pursued, they would not have failed for the want of support in this country. They might have had support to any extent. The genuine mind of the public had imbibed the sentiment for years back, but the minister himself always looked askew. He made war to gain a duke, and he coquetted with peace to retain a county member. These, and such like, were his views and ultimate objects. By this double game, being neither Jacobin nor loyalist, but both, he has failed in every point; and you, my dear Burke, by the exertion of your great powers, have carried three-fourths of the public; but you have not carried him—and, I fear, all the rest go for nothing. You have convinced the inward mind; you have roused a spirit in the country, which does not act, only because those, who ought to make use of it, choose to keep it under. At this instant, that spirit might be called forth; but you see the steps that are taken to damp the courage, to intimidate, to enervate the public. How are we barring our windows, barricading our doors, scuffling into our very cellars, lest the thief should jump over the

church! Indeed, it is too bad. The enemy will take advantage enough of our humility, without the assistance of our fears. How are we to account for these extraordinary things? How solve this strange enigma, that negotiation is to be furthered by proclamation of terror? As there is a measure to danger, so is there a limit to defence. If our fleet was moored in Brest-water, with the tri-coloured flag at the mast's head, could we do more than we are now doing to prepare against invasion? Could the subject be put to more inconvenience? Could his fears and alarms be more excited? Mr. Pitt is no poltroon, he is not afraid himself; but he chooses to terrify us poor people. He is *resolved upon peace*, and to make it popular through our terrors and our inconveniences. A hundred thousand men cannot be raised upon us in a day without grievous inconvenience. To be relieved from it will be matter of great joy. But why should Mr. Pitt be so determined upon an immediate peace? Whatever were the circumstances of the campaign when he began to sue for peace, they are all changed. The French are not at the gates of Vienna—they are driven over the Rhine. The state of the war cannot, then, be his motive. Where, then, are we to seek for the cause of his precipitancy? It is in Ireland. Every day, every hour, confirms the ticklish state of that poor country. The north

in rebellion against the constitution; the mass of the people disaffected to the government, and panting for the arrival of a foreign enemy, that they may throw off the yoke of their task-masters. Against this, what strength has the government to contend with? The army? One half, at least, is as disaffected as the mass of the people, and owing to the same causes. In case of emergency, government itself looks for its defection. Where, then, is their strength?—the Protestant ascendency. What their arms?—places and pensions; poor weapons—miserably adapted to the cause they will have to contend with! They may overthrow a host of patriots, but they will not overthrow an army of insurgents. Here is the true cause of the present precipitancy, though not that of the original dereliction. It is the dread of an expedition slipping over to Ireland, and erecting there the standard of revolt, which makes him drive England headlong into peace. He is determined not to make friends with the Irish, and he doubts dragooning them into a submission during war. This is the reason why your labours are in vain, though they have produced effect in the country beyond expectation.

Ever affectionately yours,

W. F.

Our best compliments to Mrs. B——. How do you both do?

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO MRS. CREWE.

Beconsfield, November 23, 1796.

MY DEAR MADAM,

Your letters are a great consolation to us. Your sympathy makes our ill-health a great deal more tolerable. As to me, I shall determine nothing about Bath, until I know how a course recommended to me turns out:—it begins not amiss. I have many accommodations here, and many comforts which I cannot enjoy at Bath. Good air, principally; more room; my books more about me; a power of taking exercise whenever the weather permits it. If these will not do, I am off for Bath. My friends wish I should live; as to myself, I do not know what I ought to wish; but if I am to die, I had rather die here, of the two, than at Bath, if it is fit in those sort of things I should have any choice. Tell Mr. Canning that I am very much flattered in finding that a man of his genius and his virtue finds anything to tolerate in my feeble and belated endeavours to be useful, at a crisis of the world which calls for all the efforts of a rich mind like his, in the full vigour of all his mental and of all his bodily powers; but I am soothed in seeing that I continue the object of his early partiality. If I have written with any

personal asperity towards Mr. Pitt, it was very unwise and very unbecoming, and, I am sure, very contrary to my intentions; but having the misfortune of not being able to bring my mind up to the value of the measures that have been pursued, it was impossible that I should speak of them without the most marked concern, and without a strong feeling of the ill effects which have resulted from the system which had been adopted and is persevered in. Perhaps it were better I had never written at all; but I had this to say or nothing * [2].

Indeed, my dear madam, it grieves me to find, not that what I had written, (which is of no importance,) but that no experience will teach ministers to alter that woeful plan which has brought us into our present condition; on the contrary, 'tis persevered in with more firmness, and carried to a greater extent than ever. Under pretence of providing for our home defence, we are, in reality, disarming the kingdom, and rendering it absolutely impossible to make any effort which can tend to a happy termination of the war. I do not suppose that there is any gentleman or any lady, who can seriously believe that we can conquer the united powers of France and Spain by

[2] This is a mark of Mr. Burke's, referred to at the end of the next paragraph.

keeping a good home guard upon Cheshire cheeses and on Kentish hops. We employ the strength of the poorer sort, and all that can be squeezed from the more opulent, for that purpose, and for that purpose only. You speak of cockades and feathers from the ladies to encourage this new show. I have no objection, since we can amuse ourselves with these things, that we should play with them in any manner we like, till we, "like smiling infants, sport ourselves to sleep." I hope it may not be a very long sleep. That's all I have to say on this business. My thoughts are wholly out of fashion, and my hand, I fear, altogether out of tune. I hear that the forced loan is to be given up. If there was a strong spirit excited in the nation, I should have an opinion of a merely voluntary contribution; but how any thing voluntary can go on to any effect or extent without that spirit, totally passes my comprehension. I am sure that so far from endeavouring to excite this spirit, nothing has been omitted to flatten and lower it. In that situation of affairs, or, at least, my opinion of them, what sort of *bulletin* is it that I can write, and that would be fit for you to show? I have no objection to your communicating to Mr. Canning, if you please, word for word, what I say of him, but not beyond the end of the last paragraph, marked with a little star.

I could not help smiling at the list of the per-

sons that you mentioned in your last letter as fit to act together. It puts me in mind of the companies that my old acquaintance with the wooden leg, George Faulkener, used to invite to dinner, in order to make out an harmonious society, or the assortment which his full brother with the wooden leg, the present Lord Mayor of London, invites to his city entertainments. Alas! these people don't speak to one another; and I do not know any thing in the ministry, that is like a council in this kingdom. I hope you will pass your time pleasantly at Chester; I believe that place has more of the stuff of a good provincial capital, than any town in England. God bless you! I employ the hand of my friend Mr. Nagle, as I find it more easy to dictate than to write. He is so good as to comply with my weakness, and you will be so good as to bear it. Mrs. Burke is still lame, and rather more so than when you saw her; but otherwise she is well, and salutes you cordially.

DR. LAURENCE TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

London, November 24, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR,

The intelligence which your letter brought me respecting yourself and Mrs. Burke truly afflicts me. To-morrow's post, I hope, will bring me better accounts from Nagle, whom I yesterday desired to write about you now and then; as, otherwise, I seldom hear any thing on the subject which interests me most. Whatever letters I may receive, I am determined to slip down on Saturday, and return hither again (as before) early on Sunday morning. I met Adey just now in the street, and hope to bring him with me.

Had I explained myself in two or three words, I might have saved you some trouble in the statement of the Catholic question, as it exists, at present, in Ireland. But I am very glad that I did not.

What you have said has convinced me in the most satisfactory manner, that in the outline of my notions, which I sent to Lord F., I was in general sufficiently correct on the subject. I wished to have had your fragment, that I might make myself master of the whole history of the question, though perhaps without using any part

of it. If I did use it, my purpose would be to give a compressed and compact view of the situation of the Catholics, when first the measure for their relief began, principally for the purpose of showing the spirit of what is bellowed in this country, as well as that about the Protestant ascendency.

If Mr. Keogh should fall in my way, I shall of course be glad to hear all that he can say; but I do not think that I should go to find him out; especially suspecting in what hands he is, and knowing his dissatisfaction at your letter.

I am perfectly aware of the delicacy of any enquiry about Ireland in our parliament. I am afraid of our meddling too much and alarming them, jealous of their independence as they now are; and, on the other side, I am not without apprehensions that ministers, to get rid of their responsibility, may be for abandoning all control of the British Parliament, in any shape, however indirect, over Ireland. The form in which I suppose it must come, is as a censure on the advice given by themselves to his Majesty. But, in some form or other, Fox, I hear, is determined to bring it on.

What the poor pope may do at last, I do not speculate; but, at present, he is a heroic figure[3].

[3] Pope Pius VI. He had just rejected the articles proposed to him by the commissaries of the French Directory.

He has rejected those tyrannical terms attempted to be forced upon him, and has declared that he will rather die than sign them. He is arming his whole country to the best of his power:—he is playing Priam:—

> Arma diu senior desueta trementibus ævo
> Circumdat nequicquam humeris.

I wish we had half his spirit; Europe might yet be safe. I believe from the accounts which I hear, nothing but our meanness can keep the present government of the French republic from going the way of their preceding tyrannies. The "*feather-bed scoundrels*," their five kings, and their councils of elders and youngsters, sink every day lower and lower in contempt. I heard but the other day, on the authority of a person just come from Paris, that he attended what was called a sermon. It was a political harangue, abusing the government in the grossest terms, and telling the people, in conclusion, that these were the men who had put to death *their good king*.

The last accounts from the West Indies too fatally confirm the melancholy truths of your additional half-sheet. Some medical men, who had seen the returns, told me yesterday, that in the last *fifty-two days* before the sailing of the vessel, *upwards of* 10,000 *men* died. If we may believe the debates in the French councils,

the mortality has been still greater among their troops, and even the negroes. Some of the most recent advices mention that the negroes now are at war with the French in St. Domingo; and, declaring themselves independent of all nations, have retired into the interior of the country. The foundation of the new West-Indian empire is laid.

To what point of degradation ministers can yet sink, I cannot guess. Far be it from me to limit their genius for the bathos of diplomacy. It is said, however, in some of their papers, that they have sent *final* instructions. I fear they are like a set of strolling players: "The last night," —"positively the last night,"—"the very last night,"—"the last night without fail;"—creeps on with petty pace from day to day. *Ultimatum* follows *ultimatum;* till, by and by, you get to a *penultimatum*, and that leads to the beginning of a negotiation.

The plan of the Directory is clear. Without committing themselves, they wish to get from us what they propose in favour of the Emperor. In the mean time, they are courting him as much as they insult us, and will offer him alone as much or more as we shall propose to stipulate for him. They can carve up Italy and Germany too for him, if they can at any price bribe him to a separate peace. I am not sure but they would, if

pushed, restore him all the Netherlands, or all but a strip of coast to connect themselves with Holland, in order to try the question with us alone respecting the latter country. If they can anyhow, they will make a separate peace with the Emperor; and then they will risk *gaining a loss*, in attempting an invasion of Great Britain or Ireland. Otherwise, I do not think they have any serious intention of it. The bills will probably create more and more dissatisfaction as they will appear unnecessary.

I have not heard from Lord F. for some time. I hope you will have a letter if I have not, before I see you on Sunday. Remember me to Mrs. Burke. God bless you both!

Believe me, dear sir,

Ever gratefully and affectionately yours,

FRENCH LAURENCE.

P.S.—I scrawl in the midst of noise and confusion about captors and captured in the court of appeals. Once more, God bless you!

Second P.S.—On my return home I found a letter from Lord F., who approves my opinions on Irish affairs. I am, therefore, doubly satisfied that they are in general correct. He does not say a word of coming to town, or taking any public part in the question intended by Mr. Fox. He thinks the forced loan will never go down in the House with the country gentlemen. With

regard to the Quakers' bill, his opinion is, "that if our society takes the matter up professionally, I should compliment the '*Esprit de Corps*' with my support." What you tell me of Mrs. Crewe's note, amuses and afflicts, without surprising me.

DR. HUSSEY TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Royal College,
Maynooth, November 30, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR,

In the midst of all your cares and anxieties for the public good, you will permit an old friend, and a very sincere one, to break in for a moment upon you, and to give you some account of myself, and hint a little at what passes around me. The first I owe to your friendship, the second to your patriotism. The thoughts, as they arise in my mind, shall descend upon this paper, which I shall neither transcribe nor correct.

You are acquainted with all the particulars relative to my journey to this country. I gave you my own ideas upon it with that frankness and candour natural to me. Though conscious of my own loyal and *royal* principles, I dreaded the journey, from the knowledge I already had of this country. Upon my arrival, I was treated with great civility by the viceroy and his secretary; at

least with as much civility as a gentleman is entitled to. In my conversations with each, in private, I spoke my sentiments without any reserve. The following week I hastened down to the favorite spot, this "*punctum saliens*" of the salvation of Ireland from jacobinism and anarchy. I found it advancing, in every respect, even beyond my expectations. But alas! I was soon assailed by letters from various parts of the kingdom, complaining of the violence made use of in compelling the Catholic military[3], who had enlisted with the explicit promise, or at least with the expectation, that nothing would be required of them contrary to their religious tenets. I returned immediately to Dublin, endeavoured to obtain a conversation with the viceroy or with his secretary, but they were too busy in settling their bargains with the orators of College Green, about the affairs of this world, to hear a man who came to speak to them about affairs which, they imagine, can only regard the world to come. The violence to the military became, in the mean time, not only a matter of notoriety, but of public complaint from some Catholic noblemen and gentlemen who hold commissions in the army. When the matter was spoken of in my presence, I expressed my strong abhorrence; and this, forsooth, gave offence at the Castle, and even our gentle

[3] The writer should have added here, "to attend places of Protestant worship."

friend, the secretary-at-war[4], told me, that Mr. Pelham felt *himself much hurt at the opinions I uttered upon this subject.*

Only consider, my dear sir, the abject wretchedness of a country, where a man is blamed for expressing his indignation at the view of the worst of all oppressions! In the meantime, applications were made to me from several military corps, to know what advice I would give them. I felt myself between the two evils, of oppression or jacobinism. You know my principles too well to be ignorant of the choice which I would make. I exhorted the soldiers to patience, and promised that steps would be taken to remove the grievance. I then drew up a sketch of a pastoral letter, in strong terms; but before I would publish it, I sent it in to Mr. Pelham by his secretary, for Mr. Pelham was surrounded by the College Green bargain-makers, and I could not see him. The sketch, however, was kept, nor did I hear a word from the Castle; neither did I go near it since that day, now more than two months ago. But this ungentleman-like treatment is not what grieves me most;—but the soldiers finding no general redress, have, I am given to understand, formed associations in the camps to redress themselves; and, in a country not remarkable for

[4] William Elliot, Esq., afterwards the Right Hon. William Elliot, M.P. for Peterborough. He died in 1818.

military discipline, where this evil will end, Heaven only knows. Even if France had not given warning how dangerous it is for any state to make religion a matter of indifference, surely no man would conclude that in proportion to a soldier's want of religion, he will be faithful and loyal to his king; or that, in proportion as the soldier is compelled to act the hypocrite, in frequenting a place of worship contrary to his conscience, he will be proportionably brave in the king's service. Hypocrisy and cowardice are natural companions. Who can see, without indignation, a man in a military garb, the garb of manly courage and candour, with downcast head and arms, whipped like a quadruped to a hostile church by a little tyrannizing officer, who neither fears God himself, nor, perhaps, believes in him? And this is the return he makes to the king for his uniform, his commission, and his pay! How little does his Majesty suspect, that those upon whom he heaps honours and power here, are his greatest enemies; and the very men who are jacobinising this country? They are urging those cursed sentiments throughout the country, and under the name of "*United Irishmen*," this evil is extending beyond imagination. Many thousands, I am assured, are weekly sworn, through the country, in such a secret manner and form, as to evade all the law in those cases. When I recollect what I repeatedly

foretold you, relative to several of the powers of Europe these two years past, all which was literally verified, I am terrified at what I foresee, regarding my own unfortunate native country. *To pass by parliament, and break the connexion with Great Britain,* is, I am informed, the plan of the United Irishmen. The wretches never consider that their grievances are not from England, but from a junto of their own countrymen; and that Camden, Pelham, and Elliot, (whom, notwithstanding my difference with them, I think the three most honest men in office here,) are as completely junto-ridden as my former patron, the king of Spain, is convention-ridden. At any rate, I am shut out from all conversation with the Castle. Persuaded as I am, that I have acted *pro modulo* as the most faithful and loyal of his Majesty's subjects could, I cannot think of offering my sentiments or opinions where, in all probability, they would be unnoticed. I have so long found you ready to give me advice in the hour of need, that I flatter myself you may find a moment to continue the same friendship and protection, especially at this moment, when I may be an instrument in your hands of national utility. Let me, at all events, request you will direct some of your family to send a line to me, acknowledging the receipt of this tedious scrawl from

Your faithful and affectionate friend,

T. Hussey.

EARL FITZWILLIAM TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

December 5, 1796.

MY DEAR BURKE,

I return the inclosed, because I think it is the original and not a copy. I am happy that you have invited him[5] to Beconsfield, if not inconvenient to yourself in a private consideration. No harm can come of your seeing him, but possibly much good. The desire he has of communicating with you, goes a long way towards establishing a belief that your opinions have a weight with him; and if not that, then it is a proof that they have with his connexions; and that it is necessary that he should appear to them as being on fair terms with you. It would be a pity that he should have to say, that you declined even the communication of matters that concerned them. Whilst they continued to look up to you, your opinion may not be the law to them; but certainly they must have great weight with them, and may, from time to time, check mischievous projects.

I lament exceedingly that Grattan and the Ponsonbys are taking up the consideration of the representation of Ireland, and I lament it still the

[5] Mr. Keogh.

more, because they are doing it at the Whig Club. It is not that the present representation of Ireland is not a grievance: it certainly is a most crying one, and is, in a great degree, the cause of the misery of the lower orders. Its being so completely aristocratical, leaves the lower orders without protection. In that example we may learn what tyrants we aristocrats can be, when there is no check whatever on the selfish bent of the human mind.—Happy the country where there is such an alloy of democracy, as brings the overbearing inclination of the great to a fellow-feeling with the low; as makes it necessary that the one should court the other: this alone will secure to the lowest an equitable share of protection from their superiors, and render the latter the most useful part of society, even to the former. But still I tremble, when I see ancient arrangements meddled with: there is no ascertaining, when once the dyke is cut, how far the waters will flow; and I dislike it the more when I see the consideration takes its rise, not in a *constituted*, but in a *self-created* authority—it savors of Jacobinism. I have lately thrown out a loose hint upon the subject, by strongly recommending to our friends there, to stand firm in their proper situation, the House of Commons;—to stick to that. But I fear the reason which, above all others, would weigh with me against agitating any constitutional ques-

tion, any where but in Parliament, will not act in the same direction with every one else. The fear of O'Connor[6] would, above all things, deter me from bringing a constitutional question before a club. The fear of that person may, I fear, induce others to do the contrary; with a view, as it will be considered, of pre-occupying the ground. Should it prove so, all I say is, that I fear it will not prove in the event to have been well considered.—This is, however, all surmise;—may my alarms prove ill-founded.—I know the good intentions, and will rely upon the prudence of our friends. They are upon the spot to see the ground; and, I trust, are assured of making the most advantageous dispositions.

The vast scheme of finance is at last out, and it ends in the greatest job for the monied men.—When was such a bonus given? I have heard of vast premiums by the rise of stock, but never of such a direct bonus. Two points Mr. Pitt has gained by his manœuvring;—the first is, he has gained the hearts of the monied men (whom he had lost) by the advantage he has given them; and the next is, he has terrified all the landed interest into a support of his Jacobinical peace, by the scourge he held up against them. War he has rendered impossible,—the terror of the

[6] Mr. Arthur O'Connor, a *United Irishman*, and one of the most celebrated democrats of the day.

threat is still alive. As for myself, he has put me in an awkward situation, and has left me in a great doubt what is fit for me to do;—to subscribe, or not,—I have left it in the discretion of my friend Baldwin[7], who will see what others of my description will do. I am, in my own case, an instance of the folly of his threatened plan. I am in possession of a large income arising from a settled estate; an admirable subject for regular taxation, but a person incapable of advancing a sum of money without considerable embarrassment. Yet, had he not relinquished his plan, he would have extorted from me that which I could not give without distress; whilst he refused it from those, who, on proof, are very capable of supplying him, and who wish it. But circumstanced as I am,—the single, marked opponent of peace, if men of landed property run down to put their names to the subscription, and to gain patriotism and plunder with one dash of the pen, mine must not be the only one not to be found.—I have, therefore, left my conduct to B.'s judgment.

Let me hear that you continue to mend; more acceptable news can never reach

Your affectionate friend,

W. F.

[7] William Baldwin, Esq., some time M.P. for Malton, afterwards for Westbury. He died in 1813.

EARL FITZWILLIAM TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

December 7, 1796.

My dear Burke,

I certainly forgot to put up Keogh's letter, for I now find it in my pocket; I suspect I inclosed some other; what it was I don't know, but if I did, pray send it back. I have the pleasure of hearing from Mr. Jenkins[1] that your looks are improved since he last saw you, which was in October. I am much obliged to you for your goodness to Milton. I understand you kept him a night at Beconsfield, and carried him to Penn School in the morning. I find there was no occasion for Mr. Baldwin to exercise his judgment about subscribing for me to the loan; before he got my letter, the loan was filled and the subscription closed:—No want of patriotic subscriptions; an overplus of patriots and guineas,—disappointed patriots without number, lamenting that their offering could not be received.

Bad news from Italy—it seems a strange fatality that, a second time, the Austrians should be defeated, apparently owing to the same cause as their

[1] He was private tutor to the present Lord Fitzwilliam. He died in 1839.

first defeat,—dividing their army. I tremble for their Cispadane republic,—it will be established. I see another subject of alarm; a Spanish general, whom they had sent to learn tactics (revolutionary ones I surmise) with the army of the Rhine and Moselle, has taken leave of the directory, to return home with all his acquisitions in the science—the Spanish army will presently be instructed in the *true art.* Nothing can save that miserable government but the virtue of its subjects,—their innate hatred of the French.

Ever yours,

W. F.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO REV. DR. HUSSEY.

December, 1796.

My dear Sir,

This morning I received your letter of the 30th of November from Maynooth. I dictate my answer from my couch, on which I am obliged to lie for a good part of the day. I cannot conceal from you, much less can I conceal from myself, that in all probability I am not long for this world. Indeed, things are in such a situation, independently of the domestic wound, that I never could have less reason for regret in quitting

the world than at this moment; and my end will be, by several, as little regretted.

I have no difficulty at all in communicating to you, or, if it were any use, to mankind at large, my sentiments and feelings on the dismal state of things in Ireland; but I find it difficult indeed to give you the advice you are pleased to ask, as to your own conduct in your very critical situation.

You state, what has long been but too obvious, that it seems the unfortunate policy of the hour, to put to the far largest portion of the king's subjects in Ireland the desperate alternative, between a thankless acquiescence under grievous oppression, or a refuge in Jacobinism, with all its horrors and all its crimes. You prefer the former dismal part of the choice. There is no doubt but that you would have reason, if the election of one of these evils was at all a security against the other. But they are things very alliable, and as closely connected as cause and effect. That Jacobinism which is speculative in its origin, and which arises from wantonness and fulness of bread, may possibly be kept under by firmness and prudence. The very levity of character which produces it, may extinguish it. But Jacobinism which arises from penury and irritation, from scorned loyalty and rejected allegiance, has much deeper roots. They take their nourish-

ment from the bottom of human nature, and the unalterable constitution of things, and not from humour and caprice, or the opinions of the day about privileges and liberties. These roots will be shot into the depths of hell, and will at last raise up their proud tops to heaven itself. This radical evil may baffle the attempts of heads much wiser than those are, who, in the petulance and riot of their drunken power, are neither ashamed nor afraid to insult and provoke those, whom it is their duty, and ought to be their glory, to cherish and protect.

So then, the little wise men of the west, with every hazard of this evil, are resolved to persevere in the manly and well-timed resolution of a war against Popery. In the principle, and in all the proceedings, it is perfectly suited to their character. They begin this last series of their offensive operations, by laying traps for the consciences of poor foot-soldiers. They call these wretches to their church, (empty of a volunteer congregation,) not by the bell, but by the whip. This ecclesiastic military discipline is happily taken up, in order to form an army of well-scourged Papists into a firm phalanx for the support of the Protestant religion. I wish them joy of this their valuable discovery in theology, politics, and the art military. Fashion governs the world, and it is the fashion in the great French empire of pure and perfect Protestantism, as well as in the

little busy meddling province of servile imitators, that apes at an humble distance the tone of its capital, to make a crusade against you poor Catholics. But whatever may be thought in Ireland of its share of a war against the pope in that out-lying part of Europe, the zealous Protestant, Bonaparte, has given his late holiness far more deadly blows, in the centre of his own power, and in the nearest seats of his influence, than the Irish directory[1] can arrogate to itself within its own jurisdiction, from the utmost efforts of its political and military skill. I have my doubts (they may perhaps arise from my ignorance) whether the glories of the night expeditions, in surprising the cabin fortresses in Louth and Meath, or whether the slaughter and expulsion of the Catholic weavers by another set of zealots in Armagh, or even the proud trophies of the late potato field[2] in that county, are quite to be compared with the Protestant victories on the plains of Lombardy, or to the possession of the flat of Bologna, or to the approaching sack of Rome, where, even now, the Protestant commis-

[1] By the "Irish Directory," Mr. Burke means the Protestant Ascendency party, then in power in Ireland.

[2] Mr. Burke alludes to popular disturbances in Louth and Meath, and the very questionable means taken by the Irish Government to suppress them; to the attacks on the Catholics in Armagh by Orangemen; and probably to the "Battle of the Diamond," in that county, in Sept. 1795.

saries give the law. In all this business, Great Britain, to us merely secular politicians, makes no great figure, but let the glory of Great Britain shift for itself as it may. All is well, provided Popery is crushed.

This war against Popery furnishes me with a clue that leads me out of a maze of perplexed politics, which, without it, I could not in the least understand. I now can account for the whole. Lord Malmesbury is sent to prostrate the dignity of the English monarchy at Paris, that an Irish, Popish common-soldier may be whipt in, to give an appearance of habitation, to a deserted Protestant church in Ireland:—Thus we balance the account;—defeat and dishonour abroad; oppression at home. We sneak to the regicides, but we boldly trample on our poor fellow-citizens. But all is for the Protestant cause.

The same ruling principle explains the rest. We have abdicated the crown of Corsica, which had been newly soldered to the crown of Great Britain and to the crown of Ireland, lest the British diadem should look too like the Pope's triple crown. We have run away from the people of Corsica, and abandoned them without capitulation of any kind in favour of those of them, who might be our friends; but then it was for their having capitulated with us for Popery, as a part of their constitution. We made amends for our sins by our repentance, and for our apos-

tasy from Protestantism, by a breach of faith with Popery. We have fled, overspread with dirt and ashes, but with hardly enough of sackcloth to cover our nakedness. We recollected that this island (together with its yews [3] and its other salubrious productions) had given birth to the illustrious champion of the Protestant world, Bonaparte. It was, therefore, not fit (to use the favourite French expression) that the cradle of this religious hero should be polluted by the feet of the British renegade slaves, who had stipulated to support Popery in that island, whilst his friends and fellow-missionaries are so gloriously employed in extirpating it in another. Our policy is growing every day into more and more consistency. We have showed our broad back to the Mediterranean; we have abandoned too the very hope of an alliance in Italy; we have relinquished the Levant to the Jacobins; we have considered our trade as nothing; our policy and our honour went along with it. But all these objects were well sacrificed to remove the very suspicion of giving any assistance to that abomination the Pope, in his insolent attempts to resist a truly Protestant power resolved to humble the papal tiara, and to prevent his pardons and dispensations from being any longer the standing terror of the wise and virtuous directory of Ireland; who cannot sit down with any tolerable comfort

[3] Sic tua Cyrnæas fugiant examina taxos, Virg. Ecl. ix. 30.

to an innocent little job, whilst his bulls are thundering through the world. I ought to suppose that the arrival of General Hoche is eagerly expected in Ireland; for he, too, is a most zealous Protestant, and he has given proof of it, by the studied cruelties and insults by which he put to death the old Bishop of Dol [6], whom (but from the mortal fear I am in lest the suspicion of Popery should attach upon me) I should call a glorious martyr, and should class him amongst the most venerable prelates that have appeared in this century. It is to be feared, however, that the zealots will be disappointed in their pious hopes, by the season of the year, and the bad condition of the Jacobin navy; which may keep him this winter from giving his brother Protestants his kind assistance in accomplishing with you, what the other friend of the cause, Bonaparte, is doing in Italy; and what the masters of these two pious men, the Protestant directory of France have so thoroughly accomplished in that, the most Popish, but unluckily, whilst Popish, the most cultivated, the most populous, and the most flourishing of all countries,—the Austrian Netherlands.

When I consider the narrowness of the views, and the total want of human wisdom displayed in our western crusade against popery, it is impossible

[6] In Bretagne.

to speak of it but with every mark of contempt and scorn. Yet one cannot help shuddering with horror when one contemplates the terrible consequences that are frequently the results of craft united with folly, placed in an unnatural elevation. Such ever will be the issue of things, when the mean vices attempt to mimic the grand passions. Great men will never do great mischief but for some great end. For this, they must be in a state of inflammation, and, in a manner, out of themselves. Among the nobler animals, whose blood is hot, the bite is never poisonous, except when the creature is mad; but in the cold-blooded reptile race, whose poison is exalted by the chemistry of their icy complexion, their venom is the result of their health, and of the perfection of their nature. Woe to the country in which such snakes, whose *primum mobile* is their belly, obtain wings, and from serpents become dragons. It is not that these people want natural talents, and even a good cultivation; on the contrary, they are the sharpest and most sagacious of mankind in the things to which they apply. But having wasted their faculties upon base and unworthy objects, in any thing of a higher order, they are far below the common rate of two-legged animals.

I have nothing more to say just now upon the directory in Ireland, which, indeed, is alone worth any mention at all. As to the half-dozen (or half-

score as it may be) of gentlemen, who, under various names of authority, are sent from hence to be the subordinate agents of that low order of beings, I consider them as wholly out of the question. Their virtues or their vices; their ability or their weakness; are matters of no sort of consideration. You feel the thing very rightly. All the evils of Ireland originate within itself. That unwise body, the United Irishmen, have had the folly to represent those evils as owing to this country, when, in truth, its chief guilt is in its total neglect, its utter oblivion, its shameful indifference, and its entire ignorance of Ireland, and of every thing that relates to it, and not in any oppressive disposition towards that unknown region. No such disposition exists. English government has farmed out Ireland, without the reservation of a pepper-corn rent, in power or influence, public or individual, to the little narrow faction that domineers there. Through that alone they see, feel, hear, or understand, anything relative to that kingdom. Nor do they any way interfere, that I know of, except in giving their countenance, and the sanction of their names, to whatever is done by that junto.

Ireland has derived some advantage from its independence on the Parliament of this kingdom, or rather, it did derive advantage from the arrangements that were made at the time of the establishment of that independence. But human

blessings are mixed, and I cannot but think, that even these great blessings were bought dearly enough, when along with the weight of the authority, they have totally lost all benefit from the superintendence of the British Parliament. Our pride of England is succeeded by fear. It is little less than a breach of order, even to mention Ireland in the House of Commons of Great Britain. If the people of Ireland were to be flayed alive by the predominant faction, it would be the most critical of all attempts, so much as to discuss the subject in any public assembly upon this side of the water. If such a faction should hereafter happen, by its folly or its iniquity, or both, to promote disturbances in Ireland, the force paid by this kingdom (supposing our own insufficient) would infallibly be employed to redress them. This would be right enough, and indeed our duty, if our public councils at the same time possessed and employed the means of inquiring into the merits of that cause, in which their blood and treasure were to be laid out. By a strange inversion of the order of things, not only the largest part of the natives of Ireland are thus annihilated, but the Parliament of Great Britain itself is rendered no better than an instrument in the hands of an Irish faction. This is ascendancy with a witness! In what all this will end, it is not impossible to conjecture; though the exact time of the accomplishment can-

not be fixed with the same certainty as you may calculate an eclipse.

As to your particular conduct, it has undoubtedly been that of a good and faithful subject, and of a man of integrity and honour. You went to Ireland this last time, as you did the first time, at the express desire of the English minister of that department, and at the request of the Lord-Lieutenant himself. You were fully aware of the difficulties that would attend your mission; and I was equally sensible of them. Yet you consented, and I advised, that you should obey the voice of what we considered an indispensable duty. We regarded, as the great evil of the time, the growth of Jacobinism, and we were very well assured, that, from a variety of causes, no part of these countries was more favourable to the growth and progress of that evil than our unfortunate country. I considered it as a tolerably good omen, that government would do nothing further to foment and promote the Jacobin malady, that they called upon you, a strenuous and steady royalist, an enlightened and exemplary clergyman, a man of birth and respectable connexions in the country, a man well-informed and conversant in state affairs, and in the general politics of the several courts of Europe, and intimately and personally habituated in some of those courts. I regretted indeed that the ministry had declined to make any sort of use

of the reiterated informations you had given them of the designs of their enemies, and had taken no notice of the noble and disinterested offers which, through me, were made, for employing you to save Italy and Spain to the British alliance. But this being past, and Spain and Italy lost, I was in hopes that they were resolved to put themselves in the right at home, by calling upon you; that they would leave, on their part, no cause or pretext for Jacobinism, except in the seditious disposition of individuals; but I now see that, instead of profiting by your advice and services, they will not so much as take the least notice of your written representations, or permit you to have access to them, on the part of those whom it was your business to reconcile to government, as well as to conciliate government towards them. Having rejected your services, as a friend of government, and in some sort in its employment, they will not even permit to you the natural expression of those sentiments, which every man of sense and honesty must feel, and which every plain and sincere man must speak, upon this vile plan of abusing military discipline, and perverting it into an instrument of religious persecution. You remember with what indignation I heard of the scourging of the soldier at Carrick for adhering to his religious opinions. It was at the time when Lord Fitzwilliam went to

take possession of a short-lived government in Ireland—*breves et infaustos populi Hiberni.*

He could not live long in power, because he was a true patriot, a true friend of both countries, a steady resister of Jacobinism in every part of the world. On this occasion he was not of my opinion. He thought, indeed, that the sufferer ought to be relieved and discharged, and I think he was so; but, as to punishment to be inflicted on the offenders, he thought more lenient measures, comprehended in a general plan to prevent such evils in future, would be the better course. My judgment, such as it was, had been that punishment ought to attach, so far as the laws permitted, upon every evil action of subordinate power, as it arose. That such acts ought at least to be marked with the displeasure of government, because general remedies are uncertain in their operation when obtained; but that it is a matter of general uncertainty whether they can be obtained at all. For a time, *his* appeared to be the better opinion. Even after he was cruelly torn from the embraces of the people of Ireland, when the militia and other troops were encamped (if I recollect right) at Loughlinstown, you yourself, with the knowledge and acquiescence of government, publicly performed your function to the Catholics then in service. I believe, too, that all the Irish, who had composed the foreign corps

taken into British pay, had their regular chaplains. But we see that things are returning fast to their old corrupted channels. There they will continue to flow.

If any material evil had been stated to have arisen from this liberty, that is, if sedition, mutiny, disobedience of any kind to command, had been taught in their chapels, there might have been a reason for, not only forcing the soldiers into churches where better doctrines were taught, but for punishing the teachers of disobedience and sedition. But I have never heard of any such complaint. It is a part, therefore, of the systematic ill-treatment of Catholics. This system never will be abandoned, as long as it brings advantage to those who adopt it. If the country enjoys a momentary quiet, it is pleaded as an argument in favour of the good effect of wholesome rigours. If, on the contrary, the country grows more discontented, and if riots and disorders multiply, new arguments are furnished for giving a vigorous support to the authority of the directory, on account of the rebellious disposition of the people. So long, therefore, as disorders in the country become pretexts for adding to the power and emolument of a *junto*, means will be found to keep one part of it, or other, in a perpetual state of confusion and disorder. This is the old traditionary policy of that sort of men. The dis-

contents which, under them, break out amongst the people, become the tenure by which they hold their situation.

I do not deny that, in these contests, the people, however oppressed, are frequently much to blame; whether provoked to their excesses or not, undoubtedly the law ought to look to nothing but the offence, and punish it. The redress of grievances is not less necessary than the punishment of disorders, but it is of another resort. In punishing, however, the law ought to be the only rule. If it is not of sufficient force, a force consistent with its general principles ought to be added to it. The first duty of a state is to provide for its own conservation. Until that point is secured, it can preserve and protect nothing else. But, if possible, it has greater interest in acting according to strict law than even the subject himself. For, if the people see that the law is violated to crush them, they will certainly despise the law. They, or their party, will be easily led to violate it, whenever they can, by all the means in their power. Except in cases of direct war, whenever government abandons law, it proclaims anarchy. I am well aware (if I cared one farthing, for the few days I have to live, whether the vain breath of men blow hot or cold about me,) that they who censure any oppressive proceeding of government are exciting the people to sedition and

revolt. If there be any oppression, it is very true; or if there be nothing more than the lapses, which will happen to human infirmity at all times, and in the exercise of all power, such complaints would be wicked indeed. These lapses are exceptions implied; an allowance for which is a part of the understood covenant, by which power is delegated by fallible men to other men that are not infallible; but, whenever a hostile spirit on the part of government is shown, the question assumes another form. This is no casual error, no lapse, no sudden surprise; nor is it a question of civil or political liberty. What contemptible stuff it is to say, that a man who is lashed to church against his conscience, would not discover that the whip is painful, or that he had a conscience to be violated, unless I told him so! Would not a penitent offender, confessing his offence, and expiating it by his blood, when denied the consolation of religion at his last moments, feel it as no injury to himself; or that the rest of the world would feel so horrible and impious an oppression with no indignation, unless I happened to say it ought to be reckoned amongst the most barbarous acts of our barbarous time? Would the people consider the being taken out of their beds and transported from their family and friends, to be an equitable, and legal, and charitable proceeding, unless I should say that it was a violation of

justice and a dissolution, *pro tanto*, of the very compact of human society? If a house of parliament, whose essence it is to be the guardian of the laws, and a sympathetic protector of the rights of the people, and eminently so of the most defenceless, should not only countenance, but applaud this very violation of all law, and refuse even to examine into the grounds of the necessity, upon the allegation of which the law was so violated, would this be taken for a tender solicitude for the welfare of the poor, and a true proof of the representative capacity of the House of Commons, unless I should happen to say (what I do say) that the House had not done its duty, either in preserving the sacred rules of law, or in justifying the woeful and humiliating privilege of necessity? They may indemnify and reward others. They might contrive, if I was within their grasp, to punish me, or, if they thought it worth their while, to stigmatize me by their censures; but who will indemnify them for the disgrace of such an act? who will save them from the censures of posterity? What act of oblivion will cover them from the wakeful memory, from the notices and issues of the grand remembrancer—the God within? Would it pass with the people, who suffer from the abuse of lawful power, when at the same time they suffer from the use of lawless violence of factions amongst themselves, that

government had done its duty, and acted leniently in not animadverting on one of those acts of violence, if I did not tell them that the lenity with which government passes by the crimes and oppressions of a favourite faction, was itself an act of the most atrocious cruelty? If a parliament should hear a declamation, attributing the sufferings of those who are destroyed by these riotous proceedings to their misconduct, and then to make them self-felonious, and should in effect refuse an inquiry into the fact, is no inference to be drawn from thence, unless I tell men in high places that these proceedings, taken together, form, not only an encouragement to the abuse of power, but to riot, sedition, and a rebellious spirit, which, sooner or later, will turn upon those that encourage it?

I say little of the business of the potato field, because I am not acquainted with the particulars. If any persons were found in arms against the king, whether in a field of potatoes, or of flax, or of turnips, they ought to be attacked by a military pov r, and brought to condign punishment by course of *law*. If the county in which the rebellion was raised was not in a temper fit for the execution of justice, a law ought to be made, such as was made with regard to Scotland, in the suppression of the rebellion of forty-five, to try the delinquents. There would be no difficulty in con-

victing men who were found "*flagrante delicto.*" But I hear nothing of all this. No law, no trial, no punishment commensurate to rebellion, nor of a known proportion to any lesser delinquency, nor any discrimination of the more or the less guilty. Shall you and I find fault with the proceedings of France, and be totally indifferent to the proceedings of directories at home? You and I hate Jacobinism as we hate the gates of hell. Why? Because it is a system of oppression. What can make us in love with oppression because the syllables "*Jacobin*" are not put before the "*ism*," when the very same things are done under the "*ism*" preceded by any other name in the directory of Ireland?

I have told you, at a great length for a letter,—very shortly for the subject and for my feelings on it, my sentiments of the scene in which you have been called to act. On being consulted, you advised the sufferers to quiet and submission; and, giving government full credit for an attention to its duties, you held out, as an inducement to that submission, some sort of hope of redress. You tried what your reasons and your credit would do to effect it. In consequence of this piece of service to government, you have been excluded from all communication with the Castle; and perhaps you may thank yourself that you are not in New-

gate. You have done a little more than, in your circumstances, I should have done. You are, indeed, very excusable from your motives; but it is very dangerous to hold out to an irritated people any hopes that we are not pretty sure of being able to realize. The doctrine of passive obedience, as a doctrine, it is unquestionably right to teach, but to go beyond that, is a sort of deceit; and the people who are provoked by their oppressors, do not readily forgive their friends, if, whilst the first persecute, the other appear to deceive them. These friends lose all power of being serviceable to that government in whose favour they have take an ill-considered step; therefore, my opinion is, that, until the Castle shall show a greater disposition to listen to its true friends than hitherto it has done, it would not be right in you any further to obtrude your services. In the meantime, upon any new application from the Catholics, you ought to let them know, simply and candidly, how you stand.

The Duke of Portland sent you to Ireland, from a situation in this country of advantage and comfort to yourself, and no small utility to others. You explained to him, in the clearest manner, the conduct you were resolved to hold. I do not know that your writing to him will be of the smallest advantage. I rather think not: yet I am

far from sure that you do not owe to him and yourself, to represent to his Grace the matters which in substance you have stated to me.

If any thing else should occur to me, I shall, as you ask it, communicate my thoughts to you. In the meantime, I shall be happy to hear from you as often as you find it convenient. You never can neglect the great object of which you are so justly fond; and let me beg of you not to let slip out of your mind the idea of the auxiliary studies and acquirements which I recommended to you, to add to the merely professional pursuits of your young clergy; and, above all, I hope that you will use the whole of your influence among the Catholics, to persuade them to a greater indifference about the political objects which at present they have in view. It is not but that I am aware of their importance, or that I wish them to be abandoned; but that they would follow opportunities, and not attempt to force anything. I doubt whether the privileges they now seek, or have lately sought, are compassable. The struggle would, I am afraid, only lead to those very disorders which are made pretexts for further oppression of the oppressed. I wish the leading people amongst them would give the most systematic attention, to prevent frequent communication with their adversaries. There are a part of them proud, insulting, capricious, and tyrannical. These, of

course, will keep at a distance. There are others of a seditious temper, who would make them at first the instruments, and in the end the victims, of their factious temper and purposes. Those that steer a middle course are truly respectable, but they are very few. Your friends ought to avoid all imitation of the vices of their proud lords. To many of these they are themselves sufficiently disposed. I should therefore recommend to the middle ranks of that description, in which I include not only all merchants, but all farmers and tradesmen, that they would change as much as possible those expensive modes of living, and that dissipation, to which our countrymen in general are so much addicted. It does not at all become men in a state of persecution. They ought to conform themselves to the circumstances of a people, whom government is resolved not to consider as upon a par with their fellow-subjects. Favour, they will have none. They must aim at other resources; and to make themselves independent in *fact*, before they aim at a *nominal* independence. Depend upon it, that, with half the privileges of the others, joined to a different system of manners, they would grow to a degree of importance, to which, without it, no privileges could raise them, much less any intrigues or factious practices. I know very well that such a discipline, among so numerous a people, is not

easily introduced, but I am sure it is not impossible. If I had youth and strength, I would go myself over to Ireland to work on that plan; so certain I am that the well-being of all descriptions in the kingdom, as well as of themselves, depends upon a reformation amongst the Catholics. The work will be new, and slow in its operation, but it is certain in its effect. There is nothing which will not yield to perseverance and method. Adieu! my dear sir. You have full liberty to show this letter to all those (and they are but very few) who may be disposed to think well of my opinions. I did not care, so far as regards myself, whether it were read on the 'Change; but with regard to you, more reserve may be proper; but of that, you will be the best judge.

RIGHT HON. WILLIAM WINDHAM TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Park-street, Westminster,
December 20, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR,

I hope, in future, and so long as writing shall continue painful, you will never abate my satisfaction in the receipt of your letters, by the reflection of their not being written in your own hand.

Expressions so kind, and approbation so flattering, can never fail to be welcome, in whatever hand they may be conveyed.

The speech [7] which you so obligingly commend, is a source to me of satisfaction, from better considerations than any opinion that I entertain of its merit. In that respect, it is of as little consequence as need be. But its effect has been beyond both its merit and any expectation that I could have formed from it; and is a strong proof of what may be done with the public mind, and how easily men may be made to think and feel rightly, in innumerable cases where at present they do not, were reason fairly applied to them. You cannot conceive how many people I have had, who have thanked me for speaking their sentiments; and what a quantity of right disposition there has appeared upon this question, which would have absolutely languished and died, and been lost, both now and for ever, if it had not been revived, and animated, and sustained in life by this seasonable encouragement and protection. All that I have to regret is, that, out of respect to others' cold caution, and from fear of meddling with a subject not absolutely my own, I abstained from saying anything on the situation of Sir Sydney

[7] Delivered by Mr. Windham on the 16th Dec. 1796, upon General Fitzpatrick's motion relative to the detention of General La Fayette by the Emperor.

Smith, whose case seemed created for the purpose of confounding those, who, being wholly indifferent about him, were thus anxious for the fate of a stranger [8], known only by his treason to his own sovereign.

Wilberforce, as you will perceive, appeared in his full lustre. What a state is a country in, whose treasures are to be guided by such counsellors! There was a part that I meant against him, and such *Simulars of Virtue*, that I am afraid did not receive its proper application, and was very probably not repeated in the papers. It might be understood of some higher personages than he. Upon the whole, this speech, though nothing in itself, has done knight's service, by counteracting that chapter of a sentimental novel, for such Fitzpatrick's speech was, to which the House was about to sacrifice its character, its policy, and its justice [9].

By accounts received to-day, that tyrant ally, against whom every presumption is to be admitted, is going on, rendering nearly as much service to mankind, as Wilberforce would do by his humanity; and in pushing the war with all possible vigour and success, both in Italy and on the side of Kehl. I enclose you the official report. There is at least the hope that, if peace must be made, it

[8] La Fayette.

[9] General Fitzpatrick's speech upon the imprisonment and treatment of La Fayette.

will be upon terms so disadvantageous to France, as, besides diminishing their means and their authority, will put people so much out of conceit of the government, as to facilitate any endeavours that may be made to put things into a better state.

I will do the best I can about your queries, and am ever,

My dear sir,

Most faithfully yours,

W. WINDHAM.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE RIGHT HON. WM. WINDHAM.

Beconsfield, December 23, 1796.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I make use of the saturnalian liberty with which you have indulged your Davus at the close of this December. I write with the hand of my friend and kinsman, Nagle, who has indeed been very helpful to me. His brother, a captain-lieutenant in Mahony's chasseurs, whom you had seen at the Duke of York's head-quarters, and who, we conceived, had been killed, is now reported to be somewhere alive, and a prisoner. I give no great credit to the report, because, had he been alive, I think he must have found some way of letting his friends (though he might be afraid of making

known his connexion with me) have some intelligence of his situation. The report arises from a letter, written by Count Mahony himself to his brother in Ireland, the very day before the Count was killed. I never heard before this time of Colonel Mahony having been killed, and therefore the date of the letter (of which I have not been informed) might go something towards clearing the way for further inquiry into the fate of this young man. Perhaps they may know something of the time at the Duke of York's office, or at my Lord Grenville's, or from the secretary of Count Starembergh [1]. If no intelligence can be had here (which I think the most likely), could you prevail upon Mr. Canning to write to Colonel Crawford, or his brother, to set on foot an inquiry on this subject; for I shall be very well pleased to find this worthy creature, in whom I took a very great interest, alive.

I have been looking in vain for a curious print which I had in my hand yesterday. It is concerning the imprisonment of La Fayette. It is far from ill-executed. It was torn from a small pocket-book, called the Minor's Pocket-book for the year 1797, to which it served as a frontispiece. It is printed for Darton and Harvey, Gracechurch-street; it fronts a narrative, said to

[1] The Imperial minister.

be taken from a monthly magazine. It is, as you will see, a neat abstract of General Fitzpatrick's speech, and finds nothing about Monsieur de la Fayette worth relating, except the sufferings of his family under Robespierre; and his exile, in consequence of an attempt to save the life of Louis the Sixteenth. I mention this, to let you see with what art and system this business is worked up, and that the sentimental novel is, in reality, a political contrivance that has some more meaning than the display of a hypocritical humanity. Why should it not be a pretty subject for a series of prints like the "Rake's Progress," or the "Harlot's Progress," to give the *Rebel's* Progress, in which the heroic exploits and various fortunes of citizen La Fayette might make an useful moral lesson to all English generals who might be inclined to imitate at home what they so greatly admire in their friend abroad? By the way, I totally forgot from whom it was I heard a very accurate detail of the attempt made, with great regularity and well-combined contrivance, by Mr. Church, and others of the Fox party here, to effect the escape of that suffering hero from Olmutz. I heard the name of the physician, who was sent to Vienna for the purpose, though I do not recollect it. He was a young physician of London, and insinuated himself so well into the good graces of some persons of importance in the

imperial court, that when Mons. de la Fayette, having had his cue, sent to Vienna to request, if possible, the assistance of an English physician, in whose skill alone he pretended to have any confidence, this emissary was sent to him without any difficulty. The governor of the castle had the humanity to permit La Fayette, upon the doctor's representation of the necessity of air and exercise for his cure, to go out in an open chaise with him for several days together; until, all things being settled for the escape, two horses were provided, upon one of which the doctor mounted, and gave the other, with cash for his journey, to the prisoner. The doctor got clear off; but the other, falling into confusion, and tumbling from blunder into blunder, was discovered, and carried before a magistrate, who delivered him over to the governor. This was the date of any unusual closeness and rigour in his confinement; and was the cause, as I take it, of the precautions that are taken with regard to the entry and exit of all persons who may visit him in his prison. It is right, of course, that persons who have attempted to make their escape, should be guarded with double vigilance. I wish you would ask Laurence whether he recollects from whom I had this detailed account, and the name of the physician who was the principal actor in the business. Nagle seems to think he has read some short

account of it in a newspaper; but it is rather extraordinary, if it had been thus published, that Fitzpatrick should have taken no notice of it, either to refute the story, if it were public and not true, or to repel the inferences which would arise, in order to diminish the effect of his tragical tale.

I think that the substance of what you have said relative to the humanity of politicians of the first or second order, is touched in the account given of your speech in the *Sun;* and to me, the application was very intelligible. As to Mr. Pitt's speech, there was nothing at all in it, but a dry point of law. Nothing was said but what might have been urged, if the case had been that of the most innocent, virtuous, and meritorious sufferer that had ever experienced the severity of fortune. I am sure that the faction will not let the matter rest here. I thank you for the *bulletin;* but, on considering the whole matter, I think things still in a very trembling balance, and the final result of the campaign still very doubtful. It is plain that the Austrians were surprised at Kehl; and that it was rather an escape than a victory. For God's sake, why is the subsidy (or whatever it is) to the Emperor reduced to £500,000, when the King of Prussia, who had much less need of it, and did much less for it, had fourteen hundred thousand a year, not as a loan, but as a subsidy? I am afraid we have too much in view a little fallacious eco-

nomy, which is, in war, little less than madness. I am afraid, too, that we conduct war upon the principles of favouritism, and that we feed the objects of our affections at the expense of our interests. I see nothing said of a provision for the army of Condé, which has stood the brunt of the war upon that side. The death of the Empress of Russia seems to be a sad *contretemps*. What will become of the French enterprise against Portugal, is now the first object of anxiety. One sees that an active use of the smallest force may keep in check, and possibly baffle, the greatest which chooses to act upon the mere defensive,—a part always unsuitable to great force. Oh! how open to us was the French and Spanish force at Cadiz!—which place, at the beginning of this century, was an object of what, in the beginning of this century, we knew the value—active enterprize directed against an enemy in his weak points. That expedition failed from causes so evident, that a knowledge of them might have assured against a second failure. The defeat of that expedition not abating the vigour of enterprize, gave us the glorious success at this very Vigo. In itself this event was great, and might have been improved into anything; but as long as the war is conducted on its present principles, our proceedings, at their best, can only baffle some particular design of an enemy. They can never be followed up so as vitally to

affect him. I pray to God for the success of Admiral Colpoys; but I do not like, after having expended more on the navy (perhaps twice as much as in any former war), that in the two most essential naval ports of Europe, we should be fairly out-numbered by them. I believe that this Brest fleet is contemptibly equipped and manned, and hardly able to stand an engagement, or even the sea and sky; but as to this latter, they have the advantage of the finest and most opportune ports in the world to run into; so that, if they should miss Vigo, they may get into Ferrol or Corunna, where they may join the Spanish force intended against Portugal, with nearly the same effect as from Vigo itself. Alas! Europe, for us, hardly opens one hospitable port. Adieu!

Things at St. Domingo seem to have something of a pleasanter aspect, but they are owing rather to the dissensions of the barbarians themselves, than to any efforts of ours, which amount to no more than a poor and uncertain defence of a line too long, too poorly manned, to be of any real strength. I should have great satisfaction, however, in this glimmering, if I did not know, with all the rest of the world, that the final effect of our success or defeat will be nearly the same; and that we are spilling the blood of those planters whom we had refused to protect, until they had become our subjects, as well as the best blood of our own,

and of the royalists of Europe, to make this a more savoury morsel for the regicides. You will have the goodness to excuse this letter, made up of the wanderings of an anxious mind, inhabiting a feeble body; which dictates its dreams, whilst it is stretched all its low length upon the couch of inaction.

I am glad to find that poor Woodford seems, to himself at least, to mend. Poor Lord John Cavendish, who very kindly came to see me a day or two before his death, is gone a little before me. The world never produced a more upright and honourable mind; with very considerable talents, and a still more considerable improvement of them. He retired from the world exceedingly irritated at the triumph of his enemies, which was carried pretty high against him personally; and somewhat disgusted with the coldness of his friends, who, at that time, showed little energy of mind, and considered his retreat with too much indifference[1]. No more last words of Mr. Baxter, but that I am most zealously and most affectionately,

Yours, &c. &c.

EDM. BURKE.

P.S.—I have found the print, and send it to you enclosed.

[1] Mr. Burke's estimate of Lord John Cavendish is more fully given in two papers which will be found in the Appendix.

THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM WINDHAM TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

December 24, 1796.

My dear Sir,

I cannot refuse myself the satisfaction of informing you, that the news that you will see in the papers is true, and that Lord Malmesbury is about to spend a happy Christmas with his friends in London; having received, *pour toute réponse* to his terms, a declaration that the republic could enter into no treaty for countries attached by the constitution to France, and an order to quit France in eight-and-forty hours. His exit will be as splendid as his entry. He affords a brilliant example of the manner, in which the ambassadors of suppliant kings should be treated by a high-minded republic.

"So should desert in arms be crowned!"

I fear, however, this new humiliation will only animate us to [2] with new expedients and contrivances of meanness. At present, to be sure,

[2] So in original—the reader will easily supply the omitted word.

every avenue seems to be shut. We must go on with the war, perforce. But I much doubt whether even this necessity, and the privation of all other means, will put us upon making any use of the good dispositions of the interior. I have much to say to you upon that: but I have already, perhaps, said more than I ought, considering how ardently I ought to be supposed to wish for peace, even with the power, with which we thought it necessary that every country ought to be at war.

Yours, dear sir, in great haste,

W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. EDM. BURKE TO MRS. CREWE.

Beconsfield, December 27, 1796.

If infirmity had not the trick of assuring to itself strange privileges, and having them allowed by the good-nature of others, the old man and woman of this house might well be ashamed in receiving so many of your letters, and sending so little in return. We import things of great value, and, in return, export little or nothing. The truth is, we have had various health, but never any that deserved to be called good. As to news, or speculation upon news, this place affords very little. We see fewer and fewer people every day; and every

day, almost, death thins the stock of our friends, as it has done our family. It is long since I ceased to write anything with my own hand; and our friend Ann Hickey is a good-natured and able secretary, both for Mrs. Burke and myself. She is, indeed, very patient, like a good Christian as she is, of a great many disagreeable circumstances of my particular complaint.

You write to the Duke of Portland and Mr. Windham, through Mrs. Burke and myself, about the military and civil, or uncivil politics, of the county of Chester. As to your letters, we do very frequently communicate them to Mr. Windham, or did so through poor Woodford, as long as he was in a condition to communicate anything to any person. I do not know that he has anything to do in militia matters, or very little. The management of the army is with the Duke of York; the conduct of the war is with Mr. Dundas. As far as I know anything of Mr. Dundas's office, it is merely executory. Of what nature the Duke of Portland's office is, I know nothing; for, comparatively, it is but of a new creation, and nobody can tell better than yourself, that retired as I am, from the world, and not willing to intrude myself on any one, therefore I never see his Grace, nor have any correspondence with him. Though we have so little to do in these matters, we love to read your letters, because you are a

good painter, and because you put us in the middle of all the hurry and bustle of your politics. I have told you, I think, two or three times over, that I hate and despise all this militia business; if it is not good to divert the ladies, I am sure it is not good for anything else. We cannot make peace, and we will not make war. The enemy despises and laughs at us, threatens us with invasions, keeps us at home to watch our hen-roosts, and does as he pleases about the rest of the world. If he keeps clear of the sea, he has nothing to fear from little Britain and doating old England with the young head upon his old shoulders. How came you to tell me that I said Mr. Pitt was the man to save us from his Jacobin peace? I said, indeed, what I thought; that he was more likely to do it than another; because, however shaken, he has more of the confidence of the king and the nation, than any of the rest. But, if what I say was worth remembering, you might recollect that I added, that, if he succeeded in his regicide peace, we should not long have a king or a king's minister. Well, since it is your pleasure in Cheshire, on the stage and off the stage, to drink success to Lord Malmesbury, you had better invite him to eat Christmas pies with you at the Deanery, or at the town-hall at Chester, and there to drink success to his future negotiations; for

his "eight-and-forty hours" is finished some time since, and the next news we expect to hear from him is from London. "Oh! London is a fine town! It is a glorious city; for all the ladies there are fair, and all the men are witty!" There is a great deal in the old song said of their beauty and their wit, and a couplet or two might be added about their riches; but, as to their wisdom, little is sung, and less is to be said. Don't you long to see that hero, after his achievements? I know you love chivalry, and he is a Knight of the Bath; and as how he vanquished the directory with the odds of five to one against him; besides the little dwarf, Charles La Croix. He is now returned to repose upon his laurels; and Lady Lavington and Mrs. Crewe will weave a garland for his head, which will make him look very spruce after he has struck his national three-coloured cockade, which I am credibly informed he and his trusty squire-arrant, the lean long Sancho Panza, have worn whilst they were performing their enchanted adventure. Don't you long to be in town to hear from their own mouths all the delightful things about Paris; and how much you and we were mistaken in our opinion about those worthy thieves and murderers? Really, they are not so bad as people would take them to be at a distance. What a pity it is he did not

leave his promising white-headed pupil to learn a little longer in their academy! Well! my dear Madam, the shame and misfortune of our country would make one almost mad, if these punchinello statesmen did not sometimes come out to make us laugh, though through a sad countenance and aching heart.

I suppose that a call of the House will shortly bring Mr. Crewe to town, and that you will not stay very long after him. I suppose the opposition will contend that we ought to have taken peace in a dirty clout, and not have struggled for anything; but it is hard to say what submission or surrender of court Jacobins, or opposition Jacobins, would satisfy their regicide majesties. I suppose Lord Auckland will be next to try his hand. The talk of the town is of a marriage between a daughter of his and Mr. Pitt; and that our statesman, our *premier des hommes*, will take his *Eve* in the garden of *Eden*. It is lucky there is no serpent there, though plenty of excellent fruit. Adieu! Forgive all this trifling, and believe that there are no persons who wish you better in this season, or in all seasons, than your old friends of this house.

We have lost poor Lord John Cavendish; he has not left a better man behind him, nor, if the world had known his value, one more capable of being of use to it than he was in his day.

His mother's death has brought young Elliot to England. He is much affected with his loss, as I am told, for I have not yet seen him. No more last words of Mr. Baxter; and so, Adieu!

EARL FITZWILLIAM TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

December 28, 1796.

MY DEAR BURKE,

I made my feeble effort to recall the House of Lords to their principles and their senses; but of course in vain; it is not the fashion of the day. The boast on one side was, how far they had gone in humiliation; on the other, you have not gone far enough;—neither party willing to give up this post of fame.

My stating, as I did, that the destruction of the system in France was the principle of action three years ago, was treated as visionary and misconception: it was positively denied by Lord Spencer to have been the basis of coalition, and by Lord Grenville ever to have been studiously avoided by administration; holding himself out as the person best able to explain the intent of the declaration of October, 1793, he asserted, that it would be found to guard against such a misconception. The basis

of my amendment, which was founded upon the principles of that declaration, and extracted from the sentiments of our address of January, 1794, which professes to arise out of that declaration communicated to the House, was therefore set at nought, as founded upon garbled parts of the address, and upon the misconceived principles of the declaration. I trust you will like the amendment; it must be left to the public to judge between the parties, which of the two gives the truest account of past principles and facts; that is, in the plain acceptation of words, and in the obvious construction of conduct. But I have done; my conscience is satisfied by the feeble efforts I have made, and by the unequivocal declarations of adherence to what I, *in my misconception*, understood to be principles of action.

By a letter received from Laurence this morning, I find he could not get an opening for the delivery of his sentiments on Friday. Having failed, he has given notice that, after the holidays, he shall take up the subject. It is very consoling to me that this is his intention. I shall be happy that the same sentiments which I have recorded on the journals of our House, are likewise recorded on the journals of the House of Commons. It is heart-breaking to think that they are first abandoned by those whose greatest interest it is longest to maintain them. The country still adhere to them; but

the country will be beaten off when all the higher powers are combined to suppress them. Perhaps it is still the more vexatious, considering the tendency of the present state of France. Everything there seems running to an end. Jacobinism cannot exist without the system of terror. Jealousy between the councils and the directory, prevent that system being carried to the length necessary for their own preservation; and I believe Delacroix merely says, the powers of the republic are on the decline. Relâche from exertion, alone can hold it together. It must crumble to pieces, or the true revolutionary system be regenerated; the attempting which, offers always a chance of the complete breaking up of the whole. But we interpose for the preservation of Jacobinism. It was for this, I am now told, I became a member of the present administration! Good God!

Adieu! Ever affectionately yours,

W. F.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM WINDHAM.

Beconsfield, January 9, 1797.

My dear Sir,

I cannot properly express my thanks for your friendly and generous solicitude about me and my

health. That physicians can do nothing for me, I am perfectly convinced. I know what they have prescribed, and in which the first men in the profession had agreed, has been of no service to me, but has rather aggravated my complaints. I must wait the will of God, and the natural course of things. Bath had been undoubtedly of service to me; but I doubt very much, whether, at this season of the year, it would be of equal utility; and I do not think that either Mrs. Burke or myself are in a condition to travel. My last London trip did not at all agree with me. I went there but for very little other reason than that my thoughts on the present strange state of things did not leave me much at my ease at home; but the very idea of going to Bath at a full season, when I cannot take a glass of water but in a crowd, frightens me so much, that I am sure the crowd would do me more *harm* than the waters would do me *good*. Here I have appetite enough, better, I think, than at Bath; but everything I eat and drink turns to tough phlegm and storms of wind, which scarcely give me half an hour's interval the whole day. I pass the greatest part of it on my couch; yet, notwithstanding this, I pass my time in bed with less uneasiness than anywhere else. I hope you've passed this day agreeably. Your set would have suited me very much. I was very uneasy that Laurence could find no place into which he could

come with propriety to declare his sentiments in the late debates. Two men occupy the whole scene till the public attention is completely exhausted, and the auditors want to refresh themselves between the acts; and it is not only that a *quarta persona*, but even a *tertia* cannot speak without labouring for it; such are the laws of your drama. Certainly, neither yourself, nor any other person ever suspected of sentiments like yours, will be permitted to utter them, if either side of the House can help it. I am glad to find that Laurence has taken the only way that was open to him. I approve his plan exceedingly, and I hear with pleasure that he gave notice of it in a very proper manner. If the newspapers do not deceive us, the French fleet, by design or distress, still continues hovering over the Irish coast. I do not know what instructions our naval force has received, but I agree with you most completely, that a naval force is a very unsure defence. I do not in the least apprehend that, in landing in any part, they would be suddenly joined by any considerable number; but, if they can nestle in the country for any time, especially in the northern parts, they cannot fail of profiting of the discontents which prevail so generally in all that part of the kingdom. My hope is, that, if they should be abandoned by their navy, they will find that part of the country overpeopled, as it is; and, hardly

capable of maintaining itself, utterly incapable of subsisting an army; especially a French army, wholly unaccustomed to their mode of living. If a battle should be fought with them, and they should prove victorious, they would be more reinforced, and they would be better provided. I still go on with the work I have in hand, but with terrible interruptions[1]. God Almighty preserve you to a time, when your counsels will be more respected, and when it will not be too late to suffer them to be beneficial. Mrs. Burke still suffers under her cold, which is the worst I ever knew her to be affected with. I hope that poor Woodford continues to mend. Unless you have something very particular to say, don't inconvenience yourself by answering my letters. You have enough to think of, "enough for meditation, even to madness." Adieu! Once more I recommend you to God.

Yours ever truly,

EDM. BURKE.

[1] The fourth letter on "a Regicide Peace," published in the 9th volume of the Works, 8vo. edition.

RIGHT HON. WILLIAM WINDHAM TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Park-street, Westminster, January 17, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

What I have understood of the state of your health for some time past, and, still more, what I understand at this moment, must supersede all that unwillingness to obtrude my advice upon you, that has often restrained me, and make me urge my entreaties and remonstrances with a degree of earnestness that I have never hitherto allowed myself, but which the importance and urgency of the case will no longer suffer me to forbear.

You must really, my dear sir, come fairly to the point of deciding, in the first instance, whether you *wish* to recover. If life is really become so insipid or painful that you are really impatient for the scene to close, and if you can reconcile that wish with the interest you feel in the happiness of some of those whom you will leave behind, or with the conviction which you cannot fail to entertain, that your life is at this moment of more consequence than that, probably, of any other man now living; or than it has been at any preceding period (suppositions which I merely make for the sake of form, and without a suspicion that they can all of

them be true), then, indeed, there is no room for further discussion. It is in vain to urge a resort to such means as human precaution and prudence may point out, if the end which they are to obtain is not wished.

But, if such is not the case, if duty, though not inclination, must enjoin to you the preservation of a life, which cannot cease but to the infinite affliction of those whose happiness is most dear to you, and with a loss to the world such as it could never have produced, or been known at least to produce, at any other period, then, surely, you will not have acted up to your own ideas, or to the expectations which others would have reason to form of you, if you persist in resisting those means, uncertain as they may be, which, in the judgment of any persons tolerably skilled, may afford you any means of relief. Such means have certainly not been wanting; nor, should the first fail, were others to be despaired of, had there been a fair disposition to go in search of them. But, in fact, the first had not failed. Bath, which every one had agreed to recommend—Bath, the most simple and ready, and easily resorted to —Bath had been tried, and succeeded on the trial, to the full extent that had been hoped. Can you, my dear sir, justify it to yourself, can you justify it to your friends, and those most dear to you, that you have suffered yourself to be diverted by a repugnance, founded on nothing but a dislike of

what you call going into public, to defer a repetition of that remedy, till your disorder has now gained such ground, that no one, certainly, can pretend to rely, with equal confidence, on the power of Bath water to stop it?

At all events, let that, or whatever else may be thought preferable, be tried without delay. I beg only and claim, in the name of myself, and of those whose claim must necessarily be far stronger, that you will take, without an instant's delay, the best advice, and follow implicitly what that advice shall recommend. For this purpose, if you will not consent to come up to town, I shall set off on Thursday, (the birth-day must prevent my going to-morrow,) and, if you do not forbid it, endeavour to bring down Dr. Blane, in whom I feel a considerable confidence, with me. Should he be of opinion with the rest, then Bath is that which promises best. I shall be ready, putting off an excursion that I had some slight thoughts of into Norfolk, but to which, however, there were several objections, to accompany you thither as soon as you please, and to stay with you till the meeting of parliament. I shall endeavour also, before I come, to see Dr. Warren.

My dear sir, though I hope and trust that your last decay of flesh and strength is no more than that which you experienced previously to your going to Bath first, and may be recovered by the

same means, I should certainly never think it necessary, in talking to you, to dissemble any part of my apprehensions. It is, on the contrary, in consequence of those apprehensions, that I am thus urgent, and thus solemnly adjure you, that you would suffer no time to be lost.

My fear of being too late for the post obliges me to close this without saying more; nor do I know, indeed, what more could be said. The reason of the case lies in a very small compass. That I have said so much, is the result only of that earnest affection with which

I am, my dear sir,
most faithfully and anxiously yours,
WM. WINDHAM.

RIGHT HON. WM. WINDHAM TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

February 11, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

I write this from Reading, where I arrived in time to have proceeded to the Speaker's [3], from whom I have found a note, offering me a bed, and informing me that I should probably meet

[3] Mr. Addington, afterwards Viscount Sidmouth.

Mr. Pitt there. I feel, however, more disposed, at present, to remain where I am; and I should, besides, have lost the opportunity of shooting back this Parthian arrow at you. I shall join them in the morning, and try my hand, but with little prospect of the effect it will produce, to raise our counsels to some nobler pitch than any they have flown to hitherto. We soar no Pindaric heights; and I am afraid are now likely to sink lower and lower, and never to rise again in the face of this Gallic falcon.

My hopes are in you and General Hoche. The recipes are rather of an opposite nature, but may conspire to the same end. To realize one part of them, as well as for every reason, public and private, let me entreat you, my dear sir, to avail yourself of whatever skill and prudence can do for your recovery, and as a main article of that prudence at present, to put yourself fairly in the hands of Dr. Parry.

With best respects to Mrs. B., and compliments to all who are with you,

I am, my dear sir,
Your most faithful and affectionate
humble servant,
W. WINDHAM.

RIGHT HON. WM. WINDHAM TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Friday, six o'clock,
February 17, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

You may imagine what our anxiety is, when your fate almost may hang upon the report which each day may bring. Dr. Parry's opinion has every air of being right. God grant that your strength may hold out, so as to give a fair chance to the course that he is pursuing [1].

In such a state of uncertainty about what is so infinitely precious, one has no heart to talk much about other things; I should, otherwise, like to tell you, that the paper, which villainy has thus brought out, is received in a manner, which could leave you nothing to regret, but the havoc it is making with the character and credit of Mr. Fox [2].

[1] Mr. Burke had just gone to Bath.

[2] Mr. Windham alludes to the surreptitious publication by a dishonest amanuensis, under the title of "Fifty-four articles of impeachment against the Right Hon. C. J. Fox," of Mr. Burke's "Observations on the Conduct of the Minority," written in 1793, and sent in a private letter to the Duke of Portland for his grace's use only. The letter and the "Observations," are published in the 7th volume of the Works, 8vo. edition.

One hardly knows what to wish upon that subject; but with respect to you, nothing can be more satisfactory. Mr. Pitt, with whom I first saw it, when we met at the Speaker's, was not only highly gratified with it (more, perhaps, than one would wish him to be), but thought it a model of the sort of style in which it was written; and which, by the way, when it suits the subject, is more forcible than any other, and always accords more with the general taste.

Another satisfactory circumstance, which I should like to dilate to you, in the midst of an ocean of calamity, is the manner in which the fatal reverses in Italy have been received at Vienna. No despondency, no change or relaxation of purpose; a determination to pursue the war to the last extremity.

The secretary of Sir Charles Whitworth, too, who is come over from Petersburgh, gives hopes of the Emperor of Russia. But of that, when you hear that he is an *illuminé*, your hopes, any more than mine (notwithstanding many favourable circumstances), will not be sanguine.

Ever, my dear sir,

Most faithfully yours,

W. WINDHAM.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE RIGHT HON. WM. WINDHAM.

Bath, March 30, 1797.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Though my mind is full indeed of all that is going on, in a strange kind of harmony of discord, between both sides of the House, I thought it unnecessary to trouble you with any of my melancholy reflections upon that sad subject. The opposition have never manifested, at least not in so great a degree, or so avowedly, their ill-intentions to their country, as to its credit, its finances, or its policy,—I may almost say, to its being. They have gone so far as to attempt to force the bank paper, which they had done every thing to depreciate, upon the soldiers and the sailors; and thus, by discontenting these descriptions, to leave it without an army or a navy, or, perhaps, what would be worse, an army and navy full of mutiny and sedition. To the plausible part of their objections an answer is made; but nothing is said, within or without the House, to expose the designs which have given rise to this sort of discussion. In debate, as in war, we confine ourselves to a poor, disgraceful, and ruinous defensive. What is the reason that Mr. Pitt does not avow the

principle of a firm and effective alliance with the Emperor? Why does he continually postpone a full declaration of his sentiments on that head? Why does he suffer an ally of Great Britain, who, while he is such, is an integrant part of the strength of Great Britain, and in a manner part of Great Britain itself, to be called a foreign power, and the assistance afforded him to be considered as money thrown away, as if we had no relation whatsoever to him? Since we are resolved to make no active use of our own forces, he is the only energetic portion of the British power; and the question is, whether, in such a war as this, we ought to disarm that portion of our strength which alone discovers any life. The consequence of all this must be as fatal to Mr. Pitt as to the king and the nation. He cannot make peace, because he will not make war. He will be beaten out of all his entrenchments. The enemy is turning his flanks. I find he is left alone to make his defence, and perhaps he chooses to be so; but it has a very ill aspect to those who speculate on the duration of a ministry. These speculators multiply. They increase the confidence of the leaders of opposition, and they add to the number of their followers. All this arises, as I conceive, from Mr. Pitt's considering the part he has taken in this war as the effect of a dire necessity, and not of a manly and deliberate choice. But when a man

shows no zeal for his own cause, we are not to be surprised that no others will show any zeal for his person. He would not consider those who are attached to him *from principle*, to be his friends, and he will find that he has a very insecure hold of those whose attachment is wholly *without principle*. They who make a man an idol, when he is off his pedestal will treat him with all the contempt with which blind and angry worshippers treat an idol that is fallen.

You are the only person who has taken a manly part; and I can truly assure you, that your enemies are so far from being exasperated, that they are rather softened by this conduct. It is the only conduct that can mitigate the animosity of enemies like yours.

Ireland is in a truly unpleasant situation. The government is losing the hearts of the people, if it has not quite lost them, by the falsehood of its maxims, and their total ignorance in the art of governing. The opposition in that country, as well as in this, is running the whole course of Jacobinism, and losing credit amongst the sober people, as the other loses credit with the people at large. It is a general bankruptcy of reputation in both parties. They must be singularly unfortunate who think to govern by dinners and bows, and who mistake the oil which facilitates the motion, for the machine itself. It is a terrible

thing for government to put its confidence in a handful of people of fortune, separate from all holdings and dependencies. A full levée is not a complete army. I know very well that when they disarm a whole province, they think that all is well; but to take away arms, is not to destroy disaffection. It has cast deep roots in the principles and habits of the majority amongst the lower and middle classes of the whole Protestant part of Ireland. The Catholics, who are intermingled with them, are more or less tainted. In the other parts of Ireland, (some in Dublin only excepted,) the Catholics, who are in a manner the whole people, are as yet sound: but they may be provoked, as all men easily may be, out of their principles. I do not allude to the granting or withholding the matters of privilege, &c., which are in discussion between them and the Castle. In themselves, I consider them of very little moment, the one way or the other. But the principle is what sticks with me; which principle is the avowal of a direct, determined hostility to those who compose the infinitely larger part of the people; and that part, upon whose fidelity, let what will be the thought of it, the whole strength of government ultimately rests. But I have done with this topic, and perhaps for ever, though I receive letters from the fast friends of the Catholics to solicit government here to con-

sider their true interests. Neglect, contumely, and insult, were never the ways of keeping friends; and they had nothing to force against an enemy.

I suspect, though Woodford has said nothing of it, and perhaps the more for his having said nothing of it, that the perfidious and cowardly design of destroying the French corps[4] in our service still goes on. A part of the aim, I suspect, is at yourself. It will undoubtedly require the utmost diligence and firmness, as well as so much temper as can consist with those qualities, to carry you through. God Almighty direct you, for this matter is almost above my hand.

It is evident that the opposition have directly, and without any management at all, embraced the French interests, and mean to shake our credit and resources at home, and destroy all possibility of connexion abroad. It is equally plain that, except by yourself, they are not met manfully upon either of these grounds. Their best[5] fire is only to cover a retreat. What is the reason that Gifford's book is not strongly recommended and circulated by them[6] and theirs? There are but a very few pages in that book to which I do not

[4] The corps of French emigrants.

[5] *i. e.* the best fire of the ministers.

[6] "Them" no doubt means the government.

heartily subscribe; but *they* ought to subscribe to the whole of it, unless they choose to be considered as criminals soliciting for a pardon, rather than as innocent men making a defence. However, I have great satisfaction in telling you, that your manly way of proceeding augments the number of your favourers every day; and not only your nature, but your policy, will induce you to proceed in the same course. I have attempted to resume my work, but the variable state of my health continually calls me from it; otherwise, our scheme of defence, founded solely upon fear and meanness, would not be persisted in. Adieu! and believe me ever with the truest, most affectionate, and most grateful attachment,

My dear friend,

Yours, most sincerely,

EDM. BURKE.

Five o'clock.

My last night was pretty good, but I have not passed an equally good day. My strength, however, improves. Otherwise, I make no great progress. Mrs. Burke, thank God, is, on the whole, rather better than when we came here.

THE RIGHT REV. DR. HUSSEY [7], TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Waterford, April 2, 1797.

MY EVER DEAR FRIEND,

Your letter of the 29th March, which I received yesterday, was a cordial to me in this my honourable exile. Though your bodily infirmity forced you to employ another hand to write it, yet the sentiments were your own—"*Spiritus intus alit;*" and Providence still preserves you for some wise and weighty purpose. You need not regret not having seen my letter to Mrs. Burke upon a late false report regarding you; as it was written in the most cordial paroxysm of grief, the sentiments it contained were probably unfit for any eye. I sent it to Mr. King, who very properly returned it to me unopened. I have not had the smallest communication with the Castle since my complaints of the compulsion employed to whip the Catholic military to Protestant worship. Scarce a Sunday passes without instances of this outrage occurring in some part of this country. Our friend, Dr. Moylan, had an audience two months ago of the Lord-Lieutenant, to show him a letter from his

[7] Dr. Hussey was, at this time, Roman Catholic Bishop of Waterford.

Vicar General, the parish priest of Kinsale, complaining that two privates of the Sligo militia, for refusing to assist at Protestant worship, were tried the next day by a court-martial, and sentenced to * * *[8] lashes, and I am told that one of them is since dead of his wounds. His Excellency treated the affair with such coldness, and the reception was such, that Dr. Moylan, whom you know to be one of the meekest and most humble of mankind, came away quite disgusted. The instances are so frequent, in this diocese, of this impolitic tyranny, that, when I convened the clergy of my communion, it was one of the articles of my pastoral charge to them, to use all their *spiritual* power to resist it. The whole of my pastoral letter, which is a short one, and intended only as a preface to a longer one, will be printed in a week, and a copy of it shall be sent for you, under Mr. King's cover. I know that its contents will not be acceptable to some; but I am come hither, not to flatter my enemies, but to do my duty. I have not, nor will I ever, resign the Presidency of Maynooth. As I receive neither salary nor emolument from it, I feel no dishonour, and I see the necessity of holding it, at least until the plan be finally settled. As to the commission which you desire me not to give up, I still hold it without ever having inquired whether any, or what

[8] The number is blank in the MS.

salary is annexed to it. Enough for me, that it contains his Majesty's signature, to whom I am attached, not only as every subject ought to be, but also from personal considerations, for the honourable mention which he has graciously condescended to make of me at different times. I have not said any thing about these last circumstances to Mr. Windham. Have the goodness to direct me.

I am, with unalterable respect and friendship,
Ever faithfully yours,
THOMAS HUSSEY.

THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM WINDHAM TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Fulham, April 25, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

I cannot help troubling you with a few lines to enforce the purpose, which you appeared to have formed when I left you,—of putting out a short letter on the measures necessary to be taken for the immediate safety of the country; or, at least, with a view to anything like a successful termination of the war. The danger is coming thundering upon us, and, as far as I can perceive, will find us miserably unprepared, in means as well as in spirit, for such a crisis as it is likely

to bring with it. When the fund of submission fails us, we have no other; and it seems that, liberally as we are disposed to draw upon that resource, there is not much more than it can yield us. Though the East Indies should follow the West, though Ceylon and the Cape should go the same road as Martinico, St. Domingo, and all the splendid possessions that we have purchased at the expense of the forces by which they were to be retained, yet it is not clear that the enemy will vouchsafe us peace; and still less clear is it, that the country could survive such a peace three years.

In this state it seems impossible, at least it is not to be wished, that the country should go on long without some great struggle,—a struggle to throw off this load of peccant matter that oppresses it, and to set the vital powers free, if they yet retain sufficient force and spring to recover us from the state of debility to which we are reduced. The idea of a country perishing, as we are doing, not by the course of nature, not by the decay of any vital part, hardly even by disease or sickness, but by the constraint of a situation, in which all our powers are rendered useless, and all our efforts serve only to exhaust ourselves, is more horrible than any other mode of ruin; and recals to one's thoughts what I recollect to have read of, a year or two ago, of

a man, who, having wedged his hand in a rock on the sea-shore, was held there till the tide flowed over and drowned him. We are fixed in a similar cleft; and here, I fear, we shall remain struggling, and beating ourselves to pieces, till the great revolutionary tide pours over us, and whelms us, never to be heard of more.

I cannot but think, therefore, at such a moment, a letter like that which you had in contemplation would be of the most seasonable use, by showing to the country a way, in which its zeal and energy, if it has any, may find vent. I have but little doubt that there is in the country a considerable deal of energy; at least, in comparison of anything that has yet appeared. But it is the want of knowing how to exert it that has repelled and kept it down.

The common feeling of people is, and that which sinks them into inaction and despondency, that there is nothing to be done; that every means have been tried, or, at least, that none now remains. The idea of offensive war is so totally lost; the means of such a war appear so totally exhausted; the ignorance of the people is so complete, or rather, their ideas are so false, of the state of things in the maritime provinces, and of the effects to be produced there, if we were really to direct our efforts on that side, that they never will conceive, of themselves, the possibility of such

a war, nor ever, I fear, be brought to it, except by being made to understand, that peace is absolutely unattainable, and that an attack upon the coast of France is the only means of defence.

It must, after all, be confessed, that when the whole force of France, and all its dependencies, shall be transferred to this side, the dispositions of the royalists, aided by all the efforts that we can make, will find it sufficiently difficult to produce any effect. Still it is the only chance, and that which affords you the benefit of other chances;—the commotions, namely, which may be expected in other parts of France, and which such diversion is most likely to bring on, as well as turn to account.

I have not an idea, while I am stating this, that such a plan will ever be attempted by the present cabinet, nor would the attempt of bringing the country to such ideas be made with most advantage in their persons. But necessity may bring on something of the sort. Attempts continually made on our coasts may lead, in the end, to a return; commotions in France may again raise the Vendeé and the Chouans; and thus a war be gradually formed, in which the royalists of both countries may find themselves united against that union, which has long taken place between the Jacobins of the two countries. The difficulty, I fear, will be to find the royalists here. It will hardly be in Mr. Fox and his friends; and I do

not think that among Mr. Pitt's friends, the spirit of royalty burns with too bright a flame.

The business of the fleet is as well over as such a thing can be[1]. I am almost inclined to wish that the Admiralty had refused to comply, and tried the bringing home Jervis's fleet to stop any attempt of the mutineers to carry the fleet to the enemy; depending upon the dissensions that would have arisen among them, and the dread of consequences, when they had time to contemplate them, for reducing them to submission in the meantime.

What news may be in London at present, I don't know, as I write this from Fulham. The last gives the possibility of some turn that may save the Emperor from immediate submission; but it is only a possibility. One anecdote of the Emperor I cannot forbear mentioning. When his courtiers were besieging him with demands for peace, and urging that Vienna must fall, he answered by saying, "Eh bien! est ce que Vienne est l'Empire?" The Emperor and Thugut, however, are the only persons who stand upon that ground. I believe we also have an Emperor here to do the same; but where is the Thugut?

Farewell! my dear sir. To keep as distant as possible one of the great calamities of the time, take care of yourself; conform to Dr. Parry's directions; and, I should still be inclined to add,

[1] The mutiny at the Nore.

consent, now that you are going on so well, to let Dr. Fraser be prepared with a knowledge of your case. I do not see what levity there could be in this; and I certainly see the chance, at least, of some advantage.

I am, my dear sir, most truly yours,

WM. WINDHAM.

Let me beg you to add my best respects to Mrs. Burke, and compliments to the rest of your family.

THE REV. DR. HUSSEY TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Waterford, May 9, 1797.

MY DEAREST FRIEND,

I was in a distant part of this diocese when your last kind letter of the 27th of April.[9] arrived. I can now more accurately give you the information you asked. There are only ninety-seven Catholic priests in the diocese, of whom thirty-nine are parish priests. Their parishes are, almost all, unions of two, and some three, parishes; and in each parish is a very decent chapel. Some of the parishes—for instance, two of those in Waterford, that of Clonmell and of Dungarvan—contain five

[9] This letter has not been recovered.

thousand communicants; and that of Carrick-on-Suir, between six and seven thousand. From the best calculation I can make, I infer there are about 280,000 Catholic communicants in the diocese. We do not, in general, admit any to communion before the age of fifteen. The number of Protestants, of every description, does not exceed 2500, and these are chiefly in Waterford, Clonmell, and Carrick-on-Suir. In the parish of Dungarvan, there are but twenty-nine Protestants, besides the parson, his wife, and children. In the country parishes, scarce any Protestant, except here and there a gentleman, whose wife and children are Protestants, and all the servants Catholics. The peasantry are a quiet, moral, and industrious race; under-rent, for their potatoes, from five to eight pounds per acre, which they endeavour to pay by labour at sixpence per day, besides their food; whilst the wife fattens a hog or two to pay the remainder of their wants. In Waterford, they annually kill, from September to June, about 130,000 hogs, which, at the average price of four pounds each, you see, makes £520,000. The consumption of pork in the navy gives them a sure market. I have always been able to establish, in the principal towns, a charity-school in each, to instruct the children of the poor, gratis, in reading, writing, and accounts. In the charity-schools of Waterford, the clergy of

the establishment wanted to have no catechism taught but the Protestant one, and seemed inclined to assimilate them to the Charter-schools; but the Quakers of this city, who form the most numerous branch of Protestants, and are the most regular and industrious sect in it, opposed such illiberality, and almost all the clergy of the establishment have withdrawn from it; and the few among them who subscribed, have ceased, one or two excepted, to pay their subscriptions. Almost all the parish priests of the diocese are respected and beloved by their respective flocks, and are, of course, very decently provided for by them. The emoluments of the Catholic bishop are usually between four and five hundred pounds per annum. I declined receiving any, but have appointed an *econome* to collect them, that they may be employed for the general good of the diocese, in order that my successor, who probably may not be able to live independent of his place, may not be hurt by me. I shall soon return for a few weeks to London, to settle some private affairs; but, before I return here, I shall, please God, visit you wherever you happen to be. I shall know in London where to meet you. I hope you will assure Mrs. Burke of my respects, and that my attachment for you shall be unalterable until death.

THOMAS HUSSEY.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE RIGHT REV. DR. HUSSEY.

Bath, May 12, 1797.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

My not having heard from you, and my strong suspicion of the uncertainty, not to say the infidelity, of the communication between this and Ireland, makes me fearful of your not having received my last two long letters. I am so anxious about you in your present critical position, that I shall not feel perfectly easy until I hear from you. There is another matter upon my mind, of the greatest magnitude, with regard to your Church in Ireland, and indeed to the welfare of all churches, and to the state there, that I would buy, if it were possible, half an hour's discourse with you almost at any price; but as this cannot be had, I must take the opportunity of some safe hand for submitting to you my sentiments by letter. Adieu! Pray let me hear every circumstance relative to you, both public and private; the more minute you are, the better. As to me, I am extremely feeble; but in other respects, thank God, not worse. Pray tell me your mind how far a concession to the Catholics at this time, and done with as good a grace as our ungracious circum-

stances will admit, might tend to prevent the spreading of the spirit of the north, in the south of Ireland. Cork is not far from you, and a visit there to your worthy brother-bishop might be of use in helping you to form a judgment on this arduous matter.

Believe me, ever most truly and
affectionately yours,
EDM. BURKE.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO MRS. CREWE.

Bath, May 21, 1797.

DEAR MRS. CREWE,

We are very much obliged to you for the comfort we have had (the greatest we have had), by your company and correspondence since we came hither. We have now to let you know, that all hopes of any recovery to me, from any thing which art or nature can supply, being totally at an end, and the fullest trial having been given to these waters without any sort of effect, it is thought advisable that I should be taken home, where, if I shall live much longer, I shall see an end of all that is worth living for in this world. We may be some time, perhaps four days, on the way; but that will depend upon my strength. The times, indeed, are deplorable; and the spirit in England appears to

be, if at all, not much better than in Ireland; nor is the club at the Crown and Anchor one jot less treasonable than the committee at Belfast; and, what is worse, the names are higher, and members of parliament openly show themselves there; whereas, it does not appear that, in Ireland, any of the principal people are at all connected with the seditious French revolutionists of the lower order. But I cannot look at the disorders there or here without reflecting with sorrow and indignation at the provocations given to disorder of every kind, by what is called the government, in Ireland, and by the treacherous and pusillanimous conduct of government, both here and there, in concealing and positively denying, as you know they did, the existence of these disorders, until they broke out in the dreadful manner we see them. You know that they have, over and over again, represented the people there to be happy and contented under their direction, and now no army is large enough to coerce them. God bless you until we meet.

Yours ever and ever,

EDM. BURKE.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE REV. DR. HUSSEY.

Bath, May 22, 1797.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I hope you received my last letter[1], strongly recommending it to you, of whatever force your calls hither may be, not to quit Ireland whilst you had reason to apprehend that any serious accusation against you should be preferred in any shape whatever; lest your coming hither on your affairs should, by your enemies, be construed into a flight; and this, from the nature of the enemies you have to deal with, could only serve to render them more ferocious, untractable, and dangerous[2]. My opinion is, that you ought to go to Dublin, and there quietly to wait until they should make some attack upon you. I then hinted some heads, very short and scanty indeed, for your defence; but they were such as I had taken principally from your own conversations, and were intended as

[1] This letter has not been recovered.

[2] The Irish Government took great offence at the pastoral letter of Hussey, mentioned in his letter to Burke of the 2nd of April of this year. It formed the matter of accusation referred to here.

nothing more than means to recall them to your memory. If all this affair be blown over, what I have said ought to pass for nothing. I would neither shun nor court enquiry; but in case they should proceed in any judicial, or in any parliamentary way, after I had made my defence personally, if the parliamentary mode should be pursued, I should insist that, before they proceeded to any resolution against me, which should affect me in my reputation or otherwise, I should be heard by my counsel; and for that counsel I should certainly choose Mr. Curran, the most able advocate that I know. If they proceeded to indict me, or to move an information against me as for a misdemeanour, I would proceed just in the same way, and defend myself in the same manner; more shortly, but modestly and firmly, in my own person; more at large, by the same counsel. But I trust they will in one thing have prudence, and let you alone, contenting themselves with the illiberal abuse they have thrown upon you. When you come to England, you will not find me at Bath. I am to be taken from this place next Wednesday, that is the day after to-morrow, as all hope of recovery from my original disorder is over, though my life is not immediately threatened. There is not even a remission in the original complaint, so that I shall be better at home, in all probability, than anywhere else; and there, in your way to

London, and the more frequently afterwards the better, I shall be most happy to see you. Mrs. Burke presents her most affectionate compliments, and believe me, my dear sir,

Most truly yours,
EDM. BURKE.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO ARTHUR YOUNG, ESQ.

Bath, May 23, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am on the point of leaving Bath, having no further hope of benefit from these waters; and as soon as I get home, (if I should live to get home,) if I should find the papers transmitted me by your board, I shall send them faithfully to you, though, to say the truth, I do not think them of very great importance. My constant opinion was, and is, that all matters relative to labour ought to be left to the conventions of the parties; that the great danger is, in governments intermeddling too much. What I should have taken the liberty of addressing to you, had I had the strength to go through it, would be to illustrate or enforce that principle. I am extremely sorry that any one in the House of Commons should be found so ignorant and un-

advised, as to wish to revive the senseless, barbarous, and, in fact, wicked regulations made against the free-trade in matter of provision, which the good sense of late Parliaments had removed. I am the more concerned at the measure, as I was myself the person who moved the repeal of the absurd code of statutes against the most useful of all trades, under the invidious names of forestalling and regrating. But, however, I console myself on this point by considering that it is not the only breach by which barbarism is entering upon us. It is, indeed, but a poor consolation, and one taken merely from the balance of misfortunes. You have titles enough of your own, to pass your name to posterity, and I am pleased that you have yet spirit enough to hope that there will be such a thing as a civilized posterity to attend to things of this kind. I have the honour to be, with very high respect and esteem,

Dear sir, your most obedient
and very humble servant,
EDM. BURKE.

MRS. LEADBEATER TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

May 28, 1797.

WITH a heart melted to overflowing, I cannot restrain the attempt to express my grateful sensations on receiving the greatest, and, alas! I fear, the last proof of that unvarying friendship with which our ever-loved, our ever-honored friend has favoured us! I may transgress the bounds by intruding at this awful period; but I cannot help it. My affection and my sorrow will be excused, I believe, for thou hast ever looked kindly and partially upon me, and so has thy beloved wife, with whose feelings I sympathize, could that avail. This day's post brought me thy letter of the 23rd instant, dictated and signed by thee. Such attention, at such a time, and in such a situation! It was like Edmund Burke! It was like few others, but it is not bestowed upon hearts who do not feel it.—I look back on that friendship formed in the precious days of innocent childhood, between thee and my lamented parent.—I trace its progress, which is so imprinted on my mind, that I almost seem to myself to have been a witness to it.—I see it continue unabated, notwithstanding the different sphere of life in which you

moved, to the period of it;—and may we not hope that there is an union of souls beyond the grave? The composure and fortitude displayed in thy letter, is the greatest consolation we could receive with the tidings it conveyed of thy health. Since thou dost not allow us to hope for its restoration, we will hope better things than is in the power of this world to bestow.—My mother appears to decline, and looks to the end of her race as near. All the other branches of this family, I believe, are well in health. My brother continues the school, which, I believe, was never in higher estimation than at present. My husband regrets very much that he never shared with us the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with thee. We all unite in cordial, unaffected love to thee. I thought I would say how we were, believing thou would be pleased to hear of our welfare, though how long that may be continued, seems doubtful.—The general fermentation throughout this nation, forebodes some sudden and dreadful eruption, and, however obscure or retired our situations may be, there is little prospect of escaping the calamity. This may cause us to admire, nay, adore the mercy, as well as wisdom of Him, who gives and takes life, in removing those so dear to us from the evil to come. My mother desires thou may accept as much love as she is capable of sending thee;

her heart is full of it towards thee; and she bids me say, she hopes thou hast lived such a life, that thy end will be crowned with peace! So be it, with my whole heart!

Thy affectionate obliged friend,

MARY LEADBEATER.

Our best wishes, and dear love to thy wife.

Abraham Shackleton has the melancholy satisfaction of perusing dear Edmund Burke's account of his poor state of health. He hopes (trusts) that a quiet resting place is prepared for him. The memory of E. Burke's philanthropic virtues will out-live the period when his shining political talents will cease to act. New fashions of political sentiment will exist; but philanthropy,—*immortale manet!*

APPENDIX;

COMPRISING

DETACHED PAPERS, NOTES FOR SPEECHES,

AND

ENCLOSURES OMITTED IN THE CORRESPONDENCE.

APPENDIX.

NOTES ON COPY-RIGHT BILL AND MONOPOLIES GENERALLY.

"MONOPOLY" is contrary to "Natural Right."

"Free-Trade" is the same thing as "Use of Property."

[*Definition.*—Monopoly is the power, in one man, of exclusive dealing in a commodity or commodities, which others might supply if not prevented by that power.]

No monopoly can, therefore, be prescribed in; because contrary to common right.

Its only lawful origin is in the convention of parties, which gets the better of law.

[*Note.*—The convention is valid, not merely by the will of the parties, but on account of a presumed compensation for the right that is given up.]

The State, representing all its individuals, may contract for them; and therefore may grant a monopoly.

They ought not to grant this monopoly on arbitrary principles, but for the good of the whole

What ought to be their rules in granting a monopoly?

1st. The principle of encouraging men to employ themselves in useful inventions.

2nd. The principle of encouraging them to great risks in useful undertakings.

A matter may be of great difficulty in the invention, and of great use in the imitation; a monopoly here may be equitable, in favour of the inventor.

The beginnings of many useful undertakings may be full of risk and danger of all kinds; the following of them safe. Here, therefore, is another equity for monopoly.

[*Note.*—Nothing here said of monopoly purchased from the State; nor of that monopoly which grows out of the power of dealing on a large capital, or of disadvantageous intelligence, &c. This last is not monopoly, properly so called. The former is in the nature of a tax.]

Concerning the Duration of Monopolies.

I know of no dealing, except in books of the author's own invention, wherein a perpetual monopoly can be reasonable.

A book is an invention which, taken in the whole, it is not probable that any other man in the world, but the individual author, could have supplied. It is that which, of all others, is the most readily multiplied by copies; with this advantage, that all the copies are as good as the original; in which it differs from pictures, and agrees with machines.

The equity of a monopoly in favour of *mechanical inventions*, is not so strong and evident, because it is not improbable that many men may hit on a contrivance, in all respects the same, without communication; and it has so happened. Monopolies ought, therefore, not to be granted in perpetuity for such contrivances.

As to new *undertakings*, where, not the invention, but the risk gives a sort of title to monopoly, the duration of the monopoly ought not, in equity, to be continued longer than till the undertaker is compensated the full value of the risk.

Perhaps the best way of estimating this risk, is by the supposed loss of the capital, and the ordinary *simple* interest of the money, or the current value of insurance. This ought to be the utmost extent. If he has gained his capital with *compound* interest, this ought to be the very utmost; it seems, indeed, rather too much.

1st. Because, by suffering others to trade, he

is not excluded, but is at least on equal footing with others.

2nd. Because he has advantages from prior possession of market, which does, in many cases, operate as a monopoly.

3rd. Because the new dealer does himself run a risk, and therefore stands upon the equity of the former; and he runs a risk for a beneficial purpose, as much as the first dealer does; for to *extend* trade is beneficial as well as to *discover* it; and risks are run in extending as well as discovering.

There will be some difference where, in the original grant of the monopoly, a price has been limited.

Such monopolies may, therefore, have limits; in most cases they *ought* to have limits; else they will transgress the purposes of their establishment, which was to discover a benefit for the most beneficial, that is, the most generally beneficial, purposes.

RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING THE POOR LAWS.

Resolved,

THAT under the present constitution of the laws of this kingdom for settling and maintaining the

poor thereof, every native of England residing in any parish or place in which he is not a hired servant by the year, nor an apprentice legally bound, nor an occupier of some tenement of at least the yearly value of ten pounds, nor possessed of an estate of his own there, is removable, by order of two justices of the peace, to the place of his last legal settlement, upon a general complaint made by the parish officers that he is likely to become chargeable, and judgment given by the said justices that the said complaint is true; without any rule for the direction of the said officers in making such complaint, or the said justices in giving such judgment.

That every such person is compellable to reside at the place of his last legal settlement, although the said place of settlement should afford but insufficient or no means of employment, and although the person subject to such restraint hath never been actually chargeable to any parish or place.

That such arbitrary power of removal and restraint is a subversion of natural justice, a violation of the inherent rights of mankind, and not justified by the true policy of a commercial nation, but totally repugnant thereto.

Resolved,

That a committee be appointed to examine into

the powers given by the laws for settling and maintaining the poor (and particularly the statute of the 13th and 14th Charles II.) to justices of the peace and parish officers, and to report their opinion of the most effectual means of restoring the labouring part of this kingdom to that liberty which all free and industrious subjects ought to enjoy, of exercising their industry wherever they shall find it most to their advantage.

NOTES FOR SPEECH ON AMENDMENT ON THE ADDRESS, NOVEMBER 30, 1774.

THE eyes of the world are fixed upon this new parliament [1], and the manner by which you begin will determine much on your real character, and the spirit of all your future proceedings.

The late parliament sleeps with its fathers, and its works follow it; but you certainly succeed to your constitutional inheritance with many heavy incumbrances. There are great demands upon your wisdom; there are vast arrears of dignity to be recovered.

As a preliminary to restoring order in the empire, it seems to be absolutely necessary that Par-

[1] The third parliament in the reign of George III. Mr. Burke was then Member for Bristol.

liament should re-establish the reverence that is due to it, and without which it cannot properly perform its functions.

Nothing is more beautiful in the theory of parliaments, than that principle of renovation, and union of permanence and change, that are happily mixed in their constitution:—That in all our changes we are never either wholly old or wholly new:—That there are enough of the old to preserve unbroken the traditionary chain of the maxims and policy of our ancestors, and the law and custom of parliament; and enough of the new to invigorate us and bring us to our true character, by being taken fresh from the mass of the people; and the whole, though mostly composed of the old members, have, notwithstanding, a new character, and may have, the advantage of change without the imputation of inconstancy.

Permit me to say, that this method of random address has two ill effects. First, it hinders the benefits of having a new parliament, by infecting it with the passions of the old, and pledging itself as if it had been the continuance of the old; whilst the wisdom of their measures, to say the least, are only on trial. And next, it surely is not for our dignity to bind ourselves in this manner. No man ever addressed himself into importance; and no flatterer, however he might improve his interest, ever raised his dignity by his adulation.

This amendment[2] is exactly suited to the circumstances of a new parliament. It engages no

[2] The following is the *amendment* referred to by Mr. Burke. It was moved by Lord John Cavendish, and seconded by Mr. Frederick Montague. The address had been moved by Lord Beauchamp (the second Marquis of Hertford), and was carried by 264 against 73.

"That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of this House for his most gracious speech from the throne; and to assure his Majesty, that, animated with the warmest zeal for his service, and for the glory and prosperity of his reign, we shall enter into the consideration of the present situation of his Colonies in America, with that care and attention which the delicacy and importance of the object require.

"And humbly to represent, that our inviolable duty and respect to his Majesty, as well as our situation in an immediate delegated trust from his people, will not permit us to form any opinion upon a matter, which may not only sensibly and deeply affect the landed and commercial interests of our constituents, but lead to consequences of a still more alarming nature, without the fullest and most satisfactory information; and to that end, most humbly to request, that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to give orders that all the accounts received from America may be laid before this House with all convenient dispatch.

"And that when, by such information, we shall be enabled to form a proper judgment, we will humbly offer our advice on this delicate situation of affairs, and endeavour to find the means effectually to support the honour of his Majesty's crown, and the true dignity of Parliament, which shall be best adapted to connect both with the permanent peace, concord, and prosperity, of all his Majesty's dominions."

old member in the emancipation of the sentiments which have arisen from his information, and it does not engage any new member in sentiments that can arise from no information.

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We shall render the bitter draught more salutary, if we convince the world that it is not from a predilection to such courses, but from absolute necessity, we resort to them. To be slow to anger is the attribute of that Being whose anger is truly dreadful. There is a graciousness, there is a wisdom, there is a majestic reserve, in being slow to decide, in a case where blood may be the consequence of the decision. You may always pass with great dignity from clemency to rigour; it is a down-hill road. But the retrograde course is never honourable, and but very rarely prudent. In this course—in any course, I should like to decide once for ever; and, therefore, to be careful *how* I decide. I should not be fond of thinking that an escape or retreat was open to me, by a sudden change of my conduct. That country is undone, which suffers levity and inconstancy to be reckoned in the catalogue of its resources.

But if, what I think rather looks to be the case, those who undertake to lead, resolve to remain exactly in the state they stand in at present, unless driven by events,—stillness becomes a state of

inaction, and loquacity suits but ill with indecision.

I am convinced that there are many members of the last parliament now in the House, who never would have voted for the acts of the last session, if they had foreseen the consequences which we feel at present. It will be wise in us not to be led as they were led, by precipitate declarations to inconsiderate actions, and, what is the inevitable consequence, to a fruitless repentance.

Who can avoid being touched with the most poignant emotion, when he compares the state of things at this the opening of his Majesty's *third* parliament, with their condition at the opening of his *first?* Sir, the House has many young members who are saved the feeling of this painful contrast; but the aged Israelites weep at the view of the second temple! Oh! what a falling off is there! Oh! how soon this sun of our meridian glory is setting in clouds, in tempests, and storms —in darkness and the shadow of death!

At that happy meridian, sir, we triumphantly withstood the combination of all Europe. Every part of the globe bowed under the force of our victorious arms; and, what was a combination new under the sun, we had all the trophies of war combined with all the advantages of peace. The

rugged field of glory was buried under the exuberance of luxuriant harvest. The peaceful olive was engrafted on the laurel; arms and arts embraced each other. The messengers of victory, sent from every quarter of the globe, met the convoys of commerce that issued from every port, and announced one triumph while they prepared another. In the season of piracy and rapine, the ocean was as safe to navigation as the tranquil bosom of the Thames. All this was done by the concord, by the consent, and harmonious motion, of all the parts of the empire; and this harmony, consent, and concord, arose from the principle of *liberty*, that fed, that animated, and bound together, the whole.

But now, while those enemies look on and rejoice, we are tearing to pieces this beautiful structure! The demon of discord walks abroad; a spirit of blindness and delusion prevails; we are preparing to mangle our own flesh, in order to cut to pieces the bonds of our union, and we begin with the destruction of our commerce, as a preliminary to civil slaughter,—and *thus* opens this third Parliament!

NOTES FOR SPEECHES.—AMERICAN WAR[3].

SIR,

I rise for the first and for the last time to deliver my sentiments on the bill that is before you[4]. It would not be right to trouble you frequently. The moment this Parliament adopted and justified the whole line of your measures, the question was decided.

If the general plan, with regard to America, on which you have for some years past proceeded, be judicious, this bill is unexceptionable. For it is exactly in the spirit of the rest; and as it is of

[3] These papers were evidently written as preparations for speeches upon matters to be discussed in the House of Commons, relating to the disturbances in the American colonies, and the war which grew out of them. They are probably not given in the exact order of time in which they were written, as the papers are without date, or any heading or title to show the particular subject to which they belong; but this is of the less importance as they are otherwise very imperfect; being little more than a collection of detached thoughts, put down on paper as they rose in the writer's mind, many of them forming maxims of policy and government of general application.

[4] The bill "to restrain the Trade and Commerce of the provinces of Massachuset's Bay," &c.—brought into the house by government, upon the motion of Sir Charles Whitworth, Feb. 17, 1775.

the same nature, it will, I have no doubt, produce exactly the same consequences. It is the Boston port bill upon a larger scale. The principle is prolific, and does not degenerate by the descent. As the Boston port bill produced the New England bill, this New England bill will produce a Virginian Bill, and the Virginian a Carolina bill; until the Statute Book becomes nothing but a long roll of acts of general attainder, extinguishing trade and proscribing provinces.

We have got into these difficulties by the most unaccountable means, and no less extraordinary are the devices by which we propose to get out of them. In order to preserve our authority, we are resolved to destroy our dominions.

The proceeding against the colonies is not that of a sovereign whose subjects are in rebellion; but it is that of one independent nation against *another;* where, not having the means of direct invasion in their power, they resolved, by indirect means, to ruin and beggar those whom they are not able to conquer.

It is possible that such a conduct may, between such nations, and in such a case, be a proper one. But a sovereign who, instead of fighting the rebels in a province, lays a dead hand on the trade of his subjects, is no better than a madman; he acts himself in the spirit of the rebel and the robber whom he persecutes. The great principle in sub-

duing such disorders, is to strike at the individual criminals, and to beat down the armed resistance; but religiously to preserve the objects of trade, of revenue, of agriculture, and every part of the *public* strength, because it is the strength of the sovereign himself.

Our proceeding is the direct contrary. Our military force, though not spared, is feeble and confessedly insufficient. But we make our war, not on the armed hand, or the rebellious head, but on the vital principle of our own national strength, and on the source of the public health and vigour.

Better, a thousand times, to send a regular army, full legions, and well-equipped squadrons of men-of-war, to fight with rebellious America, and overwhelm them with the entire compacted weight of our power, and the instantaneous exertion of our whole strength, than to waste the national vigour in a protracted, lingering hostility, which has neither the energy of war, nor the comforts and advantages of peace.

Sir, you know that you are at a considerable expense already in military preparations and equipments. Now, I insist that it were far better to double and to treble your forces, whilst you let the trade lie open, than to spare your force and ruin your trade. For, whilst that trade goes on, the means of providing for your armies continues;—you have wherewithal to support the

taxes that the war occasions. But by the loss of trade the people lose every thing. You can better support great armies with trade, than the smallest without it.

It will, I know, be said, that they refuse to trade with Great Britain. Well, they do wrong, and this is mischievous; but you are just now as well able as ever to keep them in a great measure from trading in what you prohibit; and whilst they trade elsewhere, they accumulate wealth, which will enable them, if ever commerce should return to its old channels, to discharge debt and renovate credit. But from beggary nothing can come but wretchedness; from bankruptcy, nothing but bankruptcy. In the late war, the expenses were incredible; (you were at an expense equivalent to the pay of four hundred thousand men;) but they were continually supplied, because *that* war and British trade went on together. My clear opinion upon this sure principle is, that it will cost you less to maintain an army of thirty thousand men in America, than to pass this single bill.

It is next to a demonstration, that if you have no way of ruling but by destroying your trade whenever your government is attacked, you must infallibly and very shortly be ruined, beyond all resource and all redemption.

And why all this attack on trade? Because the Americans have agreed not to import any of your

goods? How often have I heard from that side of the House that this agreement was futile, impracticable, contrary to the nature of man, and the nature of things, and must inevitably dissolve of itself. Yet this very measure of folly and weakness has, however, struck such terror or such charms into you, as to induce you to imitate it at the hazard of every thing that is dear to you.

MR. BOLLAN'S CHARACTER AND AUTHORITY [5].

A VERY singular fate this of Mr. Bollan. He has gone through as many metamorphoses as any fable in Ovid. We first admit him in character of agent and inhabitant. Then we refuse him in both. The House of Lords accept him in both—*vir nunc fœmina, Cæneus, Rursus et in veterem, &c.* He is here again, what will the magic wand of honourable gentlemen make him?

We hear that the council cannot appoint an agent. Who told him so? Where is his authority? On what law, statute or common, or on what usage is that opinion founded? It is said they may appoint a *special* but not a *general* attor-

[5] This gentleman was agent for the Massachuset's council.

ney. On what authority is that distinction founded? It amounts to this;—that we are resolved not to hear the *only* person we *can* hear; but are mighty ready to hear any one else. Pray observe how this argument runs; a general agent you will not admit, and a particular agent you cannot receive; because you are in haste, and will not give notice. For he that has not notice of a particular suit, cannot appoint an attorney. What is sophistry but to add insult to injustice;—to mock the people whom you are destroying.

If the habit of doing wrong converts it into right, —if the practice of injustice turns it into equity, we have a precedent, clear, recent, of the highest authority (our own) in another and a stronger part of this very case [6]. But I do not insist (very much otherwise) on our adhering to this precedent. There are some virtues which, mixed with vices, serve only to increase the depravity of the whole composition. I do not press you to consistency. When you sentenced 25,000 people, the helpless women and innocent children, or far the major part of them, to death by famine, and refused

[6] The bill mentioned in a preceding note, which received the royal assent, March 30, 1775.

to put them on their trial, or hear any person to plead for them, or so much as to present a petition for them, this is a *precedent!* But it is a precedent which I do not wish you to follow. I dare not charge this murder on the House. I hope it was done through haste and inadvertency. For the whole world I could not have had the least share in that transaction; and I am sure I do not wish you to repeat it in this lesser act of injustice. This injustice is great, but not so great as the former. Franchises are for the preservation of men's liberties, properties, and lives. To leave the franchise and take away the rest, is a miserable resource; it is seething the kid in the mother's milk. It is bad to take away a charter; it is worse to take away a city. I thought you did an injury in the Middlesex election; I am sure it would be worse to cut off the right hand.

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The bread of the needy is their life blood. He that defraudeth them of it is a man of blood. He that taketh away his neighbour's living slayeth him.

It is found necessary to break down and level such rugged obstructions as human reason and common sense, before the way can be made smooth and even, for the march of injustice.

All the rules of policy were to be cancelled, all the principles of commerce were to be overturned; and lest even the tender and sentimental sympathy which men have for their own interest, should interfere to protect the provinces which you are devoting to destruction, it is now for the first time to be proved, that the trade of these provinces is of no advantage to you.

1st. That a trade which you destroy in its present hands, and present place of carrying on, may be transferred to other persons and other places at your pleasure. [*Quære*:—whether the power of trading to one place, does not arise from the trade to many. The greatest trade is always the cheapest. We are snug, and say we will sell in Germany if we don't sell in America; but I tell you, if you don't sell in America, you will not sell in Germany.]

2nd. Because a man has broken in a trade by giving injudicious credit, that trade is a loss to the nation.

3rd. The balance of trade, which you contended for so long, is a mischievous principle; the effect of which is to accumulate a debt, and the more it inclines in your favour, the greater the debt.

4th. That a trade may go on increasing for a hundred years, and all the while the persons concerned in it may lose their money.

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THIS is my apology for my former weakness in seeming to find fault with the past conduct of ministers. I shall now make an humble apology for presuming to dissent from those measures which they propose at present; and I will endeavour to clear my conscience as well as I am able, with as little offence to place or power as I can use in any sort consistently with that discharge of duty.

The moment is critical; but it would be an affront to your sensibility to enlarge upon its importance. I confess I feel an anxious horror and perturbation, that does not suffer me to keep quiet night or day,—a poignant anguish that thrills through my heart,—on the crisis that approaches.

I shall endeavour to put up some fixed points to which I will direct my thoughts, to keep me from being distracted by the multitude and weight of the considerations that rush in upon me, and they are these four.

First, that you have not sufficient information before you to direct your judgment. Second, that you mistake the object for which you are contending. Third, that you do not know that the means which you use are not adequate to the end. Fourth, that the end, if obtained, is useless and undesirable.

First, as to the information. All external infor-

mation which *you* may have, through the extensive medium of mercantile communication, is denied to *us*, as making no fit object for the consideration of this committee.

In the next place, all information which may tend to let us know the opinions of persons who, from their situation and lights, are capable of giving us any information, either of importance or authenticity, is denied to us, because it might expose the friends of government to danger.

This is the more extraordinary, because the noble lord, but two days ago, stated it as the duty of a governor, to stand out and avow himself, let the danger be what it would; in which sentiment I heartily agreed with him; and nothing is more certain than that the opinion of such persons is infinitely more material than the gross and naked facts; for the degree of force, the application, the necessity of force at all, its power of compassing its end, and even the applicability, or non-applicability of any civil or juridical regulations,—all depends upon the opinions of the men on the spot, and the reasons and authorities with which they support them; otherwise, (so far as regards our information,) the most careless, injudicious, ignorant and foolish men, might as well be in place there, as the most wise, the most careful, and the most enlightened persons we could send.

They owe us, I apprehend, the benefit of their wisdom, for conducting our affairs there, and of their experience in laying a ground for our conducting them here.

Besides, I am convinced as to the danger of these persons, if we adopt measures of rigour here. Our governors will be censured there, and universally censured, as the authors and advisers of the whole project, when our information, and their safety, might at once be compassed, by laying the whole before us.

At the beginning of the session, I expected that on this day, a great political map of America, founded upon actual observations, taken on the spot with the best instruments and by the most competent observers, would be laid before you; that a great statesman-like display would be made of the state of each province, the powers of the government, the force of the military, the disposition of the gentry, the views of the merchants, even the feelings of husbandmen, and all this founded on the rock of authenticity. "Qualis status urbis, quæ mens exercituum, quis habitus provinciarum, quid toto orbe terrarum validum, quid ægrum fuerit." This a great statesman would have done; this a great parliament would have done. I owe submission to a wisdom that is above me, but my vote to what is to be my conscience. On my

conscience I am sure you have no information that would not be considered as a mockery of any parish club.

Now, the objects which you contend for, I apprehend to be unwise and unjustifiable. It is said that you are not now contending for this or for that particular object; your whole sovereignty is at stake. This is the direct contrary of fact, if understood as it is used.

Come to a true state of the question. They insinuate as if the question was simple and naked between you, on which a single issue was joined which you were to try by battle between you and them;—sovereignty, or no sovereignty. But our sovereignty has been questioned since we have passed certain acts which are stated by the colonies to be violent, unjust, and tyrannical. If so, the question is not whether our sovereignty is to be maintained as an abstract and unrelated proposition, as gentlemen would describe, but whether our sovereignty is to be maintained in this manner of exercising it, and accompanied with all these acts. For, you must prove that the opposition to any exercise of your legislative authority was antecedent to these acts, or you cannot disunite the question of the propriety of these acts from the question of the sovereignty you would maintain.

You know that your original quarrel was not

for commercial, or any general economical regulations, but for taxes. Had Parliament not been delivered over to a delusion of which there is no parallel in history, their force would have been employed solely upon that revenue until it was obtained; and then, having obtained one object, they might go with the strength and credit of that victory to attempt another conquest.

Instead of doing this, which (God knows) would have been work enough, whilst they had a quarrel on one set of laws upon one principle, they made a series of new laws upon new principles, every one more odious, and every one ten times more difficult to execute than the former; until, by seven years' labours, you had piled up a superstructure of oppression, which no foundation of authority, though laid in the depths of hell itself, was able to bear. When the Americans complained of one grievance, you sent them another, and another upon that; as if men were to be reconciled to tyranny by the accumulation of its oppressions.

Your quarrel now is not even in taxes. Oh, would to God it were no worse! It is on no less than seven other heavy and grievous complaints, altogether making a system of tyranny. 1st, Treasons and misprisions of treason. 2nd, Stores. 3rd, On an indemnity and free pardon for all who murder under colour of office. 4th, For

an act which subverts justice, by enabling a governor to change the returning officer for every distinct cause. 5th, For an act to coerce a nation not yet assimilated, and to form a line of circumvallation of arbitrary powers on the back of the colonies. 6th, For the worst of all,—the Boston port bill; which, after making the satisfaction prescribed for the offence, finds no pardon; which, after satisfying justice, proscribes for ever. 7th, The refusing petitions,—by which you abdicated.

When you have got rid of these, I will admit that you are then resisted in commercial regulations, and that it is for your authority to make those regulations you are contesting. For the present, it is for a system of tyranny. These are the laws you have superadded to your original contention, and the worst and bitterest is upon the Boston port bill.

Your second object, more dear to you, is, the counsellors which were the source of all your woes. Their power, and an honourable concession on the part of this country, I admit to be irreconcileable. The option, therefore, is between the ministry and your colonies.

The end, if obtained, would be a sudden cessation of violence, without putting an end to discontent. If subdued by an army, an army must be kept up in peace,—doubled in war. You keep an

army for France, to tyrannize over your people; —you become tributary to your enemies. Oh, the meanness of pride! Oh, the impotence of unjust and overbearing force! At length, then, you are come to this:—that your confidence is in the faith of the house of Bourbon, and our strength in the alliance of France and Spain!

THE first object of governors is to know their people;—second, to proportion the exertion to the object,—the moving force to the weight to be moved;—third, to know their ground well, and to provide in case of error or accidental mistake.

Every thing you say of the restive and stubborn temper of America recoils upon yourself; for, either you knew this temper, or you knew it not. If you knew it, why have you not, in eight years' time, provided against it; if you knew it not, it was a criminal ignorance. To know the subject-matter and the art; fleece your sheep, if you please, but don't take bristles for wool, and mistake a wolf for a sheep. 1st. Ignorance of the object. 2nd. Ignorance of the art. Not to know timber; and then, not to understand how to work it. Look behind in order to accuse, and accuse in order to remedy.

Every thing in executive government depends

on wise men. If proper, support them; if otherwise, you betray your trust. The question is, whether you will keep your ministry or your colonies.

There is not an argument they use now, which was not held out then. There is not a disappointment of the present year, that was not a reiteration of the disappointment of every year during that period. You ought to have subdued them in the first campaign, for two reasons:—First, because their fury and animosity was not so great as it is now. Secondly,—because, if you trust to the chapter of accidents,—your sacred anchor,—your main stay,—your great hold and grappling,—you have them less in your power every hour of delay. If ever a rupture with the colonies shall synchronise with a breach in Europe, it must be nearer now than it was seven years ago.

I would not have this regarded as a mere mercantile consideration, nor give way merely because trade was distressed. I would not be outdone by America in a contention of virtue; but I would know what it was that I risked; and the vast stake I played for, would make me wish to be very sure that it was such a controversy upon my side; and that I was very sure it was my justice, my honour, and my policy, that I was supporting by the ruin of the whole of my commercial interests;—that I was not playing the fool in order to

play the tyrant; and that I was not beggaring myself in order to rob others.

What are you at war for? It was for the taxes; then you were to proceed to enforce these taxes by arms, until your revenue was enforced by those armies which it was to maintain. If not for revenue, but for trade laws, then the strong arm of the military was to be used to enforce an obedience to trade laws. But, instead of doing this, while you had a quarrel on one set of laws on one principle, you made a series of new laws on new principles; every one of which was as odious as the first; and whatever was the beginning, your quarrel now is for the whole mass, and your worst and bitterest quarrels are on the last. It is in public as in family and private quarrels; it is a trifling difference at first, but the bitter quarrel is for the lie and the blow; and in such a case it would be ridiculous to talk as such persons do, who are the paltry, partial, tiresome narrators of their own story;—to say, in quarrels whether an egg was round or oval, when the blow was given for "liar and scoundrel." Let them tell this story to toad-eaters, &c., not to a national council.

You are now come to the anxious crisis of the important matter before you. The labour of the House, for this session, is completed, and we are at length in a situation to view the whole system together. Now that you have finished, I wish that you may be able to look upon it with the satisfaction of a wise creator in his accomplished creature; and to say with truth and triumph, that you see your work, and that all is good.

Whatever the work may be, I see no Sabbath to succeed it. We have finished this work, only to commence a long series of long, long labours. We are launching out into a sea to which I can observe no shore, and the atmosphere is lowering upon every quarter.

I will not conjecture;—though the foresight of the evils involved in this measure is rather prophecy than divination. But let us set by this unpleasing image for a while, and consider the scheme which is comprehended in the acts, and in the two bills that are at present under consideration. I think they come so much from the same ideas, that however inconsistent in the provisions * * * * * * *
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The object of those laws is the single colony of Massachuset's Bay. They are to operate on

[6] The MS. is imperfect here.

their *immediate* object as *punishment*, on the rest as *example;* an example to be followed by you and felt by them, unless they universally join to relax in their resistance to your practice of taxing them without their consent.

And first, to fix some landmarks in the vast field of this infinite matter, in which I declare I scarce know where to end and where to begin, my mind is so charged and saturated with the subject.

The first act concerning the harbour of Boston, is to take away from them benefits of nature. The second, to deprive them of their civil privileges; and the third, to strip them of all their judicial rights.

This severe and sharp act is not a punishment of individuals, but a proscription of whole cities and provinces; a sort of execution which, in the first instance or consequentially, you ordain for almost a whole quarter of the globe. I do not know whether it arises from the most degenerate insensibility, or from the most magnanimous strain of heroic constancy; but, whatever be the cause, I am beyond measure surprised that you seem to feel no sort of terror at the awfulness of the situation in which you are placed by Providence, or into which you thought proper to intrude yourselves. A whole people culprit! Nations under accusation! A tribunal erected for

commonwealths! This is no vulgar idea, and no trivial undertaking; it makes me shudder. I confess, that, in comparison of the magnitude of the situation, I feel myself shrunk to nothing. Next to that tremendous day in which it is revealed that the saints of God shall judge the world, I know nothing that fills my mind with greater apprehension; and yet I see the matter trifled with, as if it were the beaten routine, an ordinary quarter-session, or a paltry course of common gaol-delivery.

It has not been so handled as it ought. The colonies have not been treated with that enlarged, liberal, substantial justice, which confers a becoming reverence and majesty on a seat of imperial judicature. Nor, on the other hand, do we seem to proceed with that violent and rapid course of domineering injustice, which, scorning to be fettered by equity and much more empty forms, fascinates the weakness of mankind, and bows the world before you, as to wicked beings, but of a superior order. If we lose our dominions, I am not surprised at it. We do not seem, by our virtues or our faults, to be a people qualified for empire. We do not proceed, (you will pardon a boldness which arises from infinite regard to the object, and not from the smallest disrespect to you,) we do not proceed as if we had any thing like a thorough sense of the importance of what we are

about ;—for instance, I don't know what is meant by making an example of a whole people.

I have said a little on the style of the justice or injustice which ought to be used, proportioned to the magnitude of the object. The next is, the quality of the object which you are governing in this manner. They are Englishmen. They went out from you at a time when you were not quite so civilized and disciplined to obedience as you are to-day. They were the most unmanageable part of an unmanageable people. They were not content to wait until things were ripe for general resistance. Then, they are of a republican religion. This has been their nature. Their education has been democratical;—their first charter merely democratical; their second, such as you now think to alter for being still too much so. They have not been softened by ease and luxury. The genial warmth of court influence has not yet mitigated the rigour of that barbarous and rustic love of liberty. Hard works on land; rough lives at sea; —these have been the habits that finish the nature and education of most of your American colonies.

These are the people to whom you propose to be content and happy under a state of military servitude, stripped of every mark and character of a free people. The thing is absolutely impossible. If, indeed, the question were upon the

miserable inhabitants of Bengal, who are submissive (as they have been well described) by nature, religion, and inveterate custom, — have been formed to obedience, and where the only question is, to whom they shall be slaves, they expect, they desire no liberty. How well thought!—to force juries on them, and to take them away from the English in another hemisphere!

Then, you never allow for the distance of the object; you cannot govern there by a military power. Remote provinces must be governed with a light hand, because the very army that governs them will be impossible to be governed itself; and that very military authority which you set up to govern against the genius of a people, will become the very means of putting an end to your authority. It is absolutely impossible to govern, from England, upon such principles. You must vest your military despot with an absolute authority to act *pro re nata*. The state of things may be totally altered within the four months necessary for your communication. Military power is a good ally to government,—the worst of all substitutes for it.

After the remoteness of the object, consider the nature of mankind, averse to the worst of all tyrannies—a republic despotism; that is, the entire subjection of one people to another, where the ruling nation has all the power, and the other lies

under a base servitude. They may obey a king; because, all happiness being comparative, they see nothing better in any part of his dominions; because they may grow enthusiastically fond of him; because they may unite in him the rays of national pride; and because they may make the greatness of his power the object of the public glory. Removed from their sight, they may imagine him as a sort of emanation of the divinity; but to see the gross terrestrial concrete of millions of people,—all the lees of seven millions, — every one free but themselves, this is against the nature of mankind, and they will not bear it.

Therefore, whether this evil breaks out into an immediate combination, (which for us is by far the most desirable,) or whether it will lie rankling and festering at their hearts,—manifesting itself in a sullen, stubborn disobedience to all your acts, until, finding you in some state of public disaster, engaged, and perhaps unfortunately engaged in war, they will add their revolt and attack to complete your ruin, and to sink you into the abyss of slavery and perdition:—*quod procul.*

THIS charter of incorporation, with all its peculiar parts and circumstances, forms an entire fran-

chise; the exercise of a corporate right, agreeably to the mode of its tenure.

A franchise I cannot persuade myself to be a matter of mere indifference to those who hold it. It is a valuable right, and is so considered in the eye of the law. The law never appoints any remedy except for things which are deemed possessions of value. If a man is prejudiced of his portion of it, a *mandamus* lies to restore him. If the body corporate is injured in it, their action lies against those who interrupt them.

A franchise being, therefore, a valuable possession, it is protected by the law, and cannot be lost but by the delinquency of the individuals or of the body. *Magna charta*, on this principle, has made as express a provision for franchises, as for life or liberty. It has included the whole in the same article. It has provided, that they should not be forfeited except by the judgment of the peers or the law of the land.

If, then, the delinquency be the ground of the forfeiture, it is of the substance of the law of this land, and it is of the substance of all law of all lands, and of all the principles of justice, 1st, That the party accused must be summoned to appear; 2nd, That the delinquency be proved; 3rd, That the persons claiming the franchise should be heard in their own defence by themselves or their counsel.

To say that this is not a forfeiture, but a regula-

tion, is to add insult to injury. Change of names makes no alteration in the essence of things. It is a great comfort to the man who loses a valuable right, that he loses it for regulation, and not for punishment. Truly, his condition is finely mended. If he is charged with a delinquency, he can make his defence; he will be confronted with the adversary and his witnesses, his own will be examined, every question of fact will have its issue, every matter of law its argument.

It is not an arbitrary value that is set on a franchise; it is the share that every man has in the government of his country. The form of a constitution under which a man lives is generally one of the dearest objects to him. Oceans of blood have been shed in this country, in other countries, and in all times, upon the form of government only. What were almost all the wars in all the cities of Greece, but on the quantity of democratic power which ought to be in each constitution?

A regulation diminishing the extent of a right, is, *pro tanto*, a forfeiture of it. If I have a right to elect a certain magistrate, to place that election in another is surely to take away the right and interest I have in the choice of the officer; though the same remain as to the office, my share in it is gone. To say you take it away to give a better, is to set your judgment on a man's good in the place of his own, which is a definition of civil servitude.

This act being, therefore, to take away the rights of men, which by law could only be taken away for delinquency, is, to all intents and purposes, a bill of pains and penalties, a bill for punishing some delinquency by the power of Parliament, which the ordinary process of law cannot reach.

Whether regulation or penalty, the substance is, that the party loses something by it, and he has a right to be heard. But if you proceed by regulation, he suffers the very same punishment without having one of the same means of defence. According, therefore, to this new mode, a man stands better with a charge of high crimes and misdemeanours against him, than when he is charged with no delinquency at all. So a man may be regulated out of his liberty, his property, and his life. One regulation leads to another; or, as Lord North expresses it, one necessity leads to another. Suppose you find that the assembly is as untractable as the council; you may regulate the assembly; you may, by regulating, annihilate it, and send over a bashaw of one or three tails to govern the colony; by your legislative power you may do all this, but if you refuse to hear the parties, you may take away the whole charter, piecemeal, without one word of accusation, hearing, trial, witness, or law.

THE weak and distempered state of government in America was not caused by the stamp-act solely, nor was it to be removed solely by the repeal. It arose from original defects in that government itself.

The repeal, indeed, was a most necessary leading measure to the settlement of that part of the empire; and, therefore, it was a measure most worthy of your dignity and your wisdom; but he must have been worse than ignorant who believed this measure to be sufficient.

It was a foundation, indeed, for building up a great plan of strong and just government, formed upon principles of equity and freedom, as well as of strict subordination; but a repeal of a law never could be a plan of legislature.

I depend for the good behaviour of subjects upon their gratitude. Miserable is that government which depends for obedience upon the virtue of its people, and not on the wisdom, the temper, and the firmness of its own policy.

Since then we saw a change. The late chancellor of the exchequer loved to please every body; make, repeal, make again. An unstable government will ever have a disobedient people.

THE policy is to form an American revenue, new and sufficient, or to enforce the old duty on tea;—the war of the pepper-corn.

The three acts to be considered as one body of American politics. The arguments of their proposers are to show in what light they are to be taken, and how they are to be pursued. How former errors necessitate the latter, I will not examine.

You propose that these measures shall content America, and put it into good humour; so that, for the future, you may govern without an army, or terrify them into such an acquiescence, that the terror of your power here may be the substitute for an army there; and that this fear will ride upon their minds, and enable you to govern upon principles that are pleasant to you, though universally disgustful to them.

If, however, such measures will not content America,—will not produce the flow of good humour; or if it be the nature of men to be so elastic, that the very moment the weight is off it will rise again, and not be kept down by any force but that which immediately presses,—(that this must be the case, you know,)—then you cannot govern without an army.

Therefore you must govern with an army, or

not at all. Here is laid the foundation of military government,—purely and simply a military government;—a government of soldiers and custom-house officers;—and this is now resolved on. I say so, because no one has argued from the present good disposition of America, no one has argued from their probable future good humour. Nobody has urged the strength of the posts there, which these forces are to support. But whether you can provide a revenue, either there or here, to furnish a sufficient standing army for such a government, you ought to ask,—What education have they had? Freedom!—What is their nature? Englishmen!

You have laid a false foundation,—that they will be satisfied not to be governed as a free people.

The act cannot be final,—must be an example; the example and lesson to be drawn from hence is, that you will diminish privilege after privilege. "Light after light goes out, and all is night!"

The argument stands thus:—You must be an object of revenue. If you are, you are slaves, to all intents and purposes. If you resist, you are then to be deprived even of those exterior marks of freedom which you possessed, and become slaves, as well in appearance, as in reality.

It is of no use to rail at America. Nobody has

ever railed down a fever. These are not the charms that cure the ague that shakes us; these are not the *verba et voces quibus hunc lenire dolorem.* The more vehemently you argue against them, the more you show the universality and danger of the distemper, the poverty of your indication, and, possibly, the inefficacy of all your remedies.

If I were worthy to say what is fit to be done in so exalted a situation, I should think it imprudent to state these American disorders quite so high. It is not politic to do so, for many serious reasons. You are not certain that the measure is equal to the principle. Its operation is distant in time and in place; and, at best, it must be very uncertain. You may find some lenity advisable, when, after this, you can hardly adopt it with honour or reject it with safety. * * *

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I trespass on you with less reluctance, because the worst that can happen to you, or to me, is to tire your patience. I can, I know very well, convince nobody; yet, to a certain degree, I go on. I acquit my conscience; I discharge my mind at random; I sow, broadcast, seeds of ideas, thousands of which perish, and perhaps deserve to perish; but I have observed, here and there, that some shoot up, at some time, or in some shape or other, which is harvest enough for husbandry so poor as mine.

POLICY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WITH REGARD TO FRANCE.

THE grand principle of French policy is to gain a superiority in naval power over England. This is so, notwithstanding that Lord North is of opinion, by virtue of a discovery for the first time made by a British minister, that we have no reason to suppose that France believes us her most formidable enemy,—probably one reason for his seeing this armament go on; for, presuming that France had enemies more formidable, she was preparing that fleet against them, — not against us. She was preparing to act against Prussia, or Austria, with her fleet. But, whatever we thought of the policy of France, it was undoubtedly *our policy*, not so far to trust to the use they might make of their force, as to leave ourselves weaker than they. The moment it became certain that we were to have a war with America, that moment it became very probable that we should have a war with France. Whenever a state enters into a civil war, she is to look to her neighbours. A war with France, in a long-continued course of hostility, must be reckoned as a certainty. To show ourselves prepared for it, is the very best way to prevent it, or,

at worst, to meet it. It was therefore our interest to prevent it or to prepare for it....

It is remarked that we have, as a nation, a disposition to clumsy mimicking of French manners. We followed France, but with the slow and awkward pace of servile imitators. When she interfered to humble Portugal, we interfered likewise to humble Portugal. When she made a treaty with America, we attempted to make peace with America. When she sent out a fleet to America, we sent out a fleet after it. When she had collected a vast fleet at Brest, we thought of adding to the six ships we had at Portsmouth;—and thus, always weaker, always later than France.

Our whole policy was military;—we never dreamt of any other. We rejected conciliation with America, until we found that she had made a treaty with France. We had provided no alliance whatever; therefore, our whole dependence was on our naval strength. It was the more necessary to attend to it in Europe, because there was necessarily a considerable diversion from it by the operations in America. All these considerations made it necessary to prepare, and we had three entire years for that preparation.

LORD NORTH AND THE AMERICAN WAR.

THERE are several ways of losing an empire. One, for the ways to ruin are infinite, is a premeditated ignorance of our true situation. I expected a great map to be unrolled, on the largest scale. I was surprised, and with some degree of indignation, when, in the committee, my honourable friend, stating the haughtiness of these gentlemen under our misfortunes, in a speech which would have done honour to Athens in her proudest state, censured the style of argument of a great statesman of antiquity, and found Demosthenes in the wrong, when, &c.—He thought that there was great eloquence and but little reason in his argument. But how could my honourable friend degrade his own talent so much as to think, that there could be any real eloquence, any that could stand the test of time and command the admiration of ages, except in just sentiment and in sound reason? There is an exalted principle, and there is an heroic prudence, which are not the less just and true, but the more true and the more just, because they are nearer to the correct standard of perfect nature, and not muddled and concocted with the dregs of mean passions and little views. For these, the great man I mention founded the

most glorious defence of a long series of public conduct that the world ever heard. * * *
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I really think it proper that we should take a review, from time to time, of the American war, on some sort of principle. That we should consider it as a thing referable to some sort of design, or some certain end, in order to see whether this end is rational and important; for I see very plainly, that, upon whatever motives we originally entered into this war, (what nobody is to be praised or blamed for,) we continue it at present, not from reason, but from habit. We consider it as a thing belonging to us,—as a necessary part of our natural constitution; a thing to exercise our hopes and fears, our exultation and depression, (as we hear what we call good or bad news,) but not at all as a matter of counsel and deliberation; that seems every day to get more and more out of sight.

Whenever we state the desperate condition of our affairs in America, the answer is, "Very bad indeed! But how will you get out of it?" and this is spoken with a sort of tone of triumph. The noble lord exalts his voice with double force, —expands his chest,—throws about his arms,— crows, and chuckles, and flutters, as if he had laid his adversaries dead at his feet.

This discussion is not a question of deliberation;

it has something criminal in it; we have culprits before us. The war is the least part of itself, *pars minima est ipsa puella sui*,—the apparatus, the ordnance, the transports, the clothing. When the steward is prodigal, it is not merely his prodigality; all partake of it.

If I had a mind to charge a minister that I thought could only serve his country by giving up his post, I would take, for matter of charge, the subject of the noble lord's defence; for I would state, that his prince and his country having, for six years together, trusted him with all its actual wealth and the whole stretch of its credit, with all its forces by sea and land, and trusted with the most unlimited confidence for near seven years; and that, by his negligence, his incapacity, his ignorance, and treachery, he had reduced his country to such difficulties, that he challenges the whole collective wisdom of mankind to find a way out of it. This would be my charge. It is the noble lord's defence against accusation. It is his title to power and favour, and his argument in favour of himself and his politics. But I am not now in a regular impeachment.

I cannot admit that the noble lord's despair of getting out of the American war, furnishes a good reason for us to continue it. I am bold to say that this is a shocking and indecent way of talking, and goes on a great variety of silly

suppositions; for it goes on a presumption, that no wisdom can furnish means of doing what he or the gentleman or two on this side of the House cannot. That only supposes that what they cannot do is not to be done by mankind. Now, though I think as well of my honourable friend's abilities as any man can think of them, I cannot flatter him so much as the noble lord does. But it supposes, too, that what a man, uninformed of the interior state of the business, is too wise to promise without that knowledge, is impossible.

If, then, the impossibility of getting out of the war becomes a reason for continuing it, I ask,—Is that reason only temporary?—impossible just at this moment?—or is it likely to remain for ever? If the chance of this impossibility be perpetual, then the assertion amounts to this,—that we must have an eternal war; but if it be only arising from temporary difficulties, then you are bound to show that, from the nature and distribution of your forces, these difficulties are likely to cease, and that what is not practicable this year will be practicable next. * * * * * * * * * * *

He (Lord George Germain) does not assert that it is physically impracticable to get out of it. He only asserts that we must make a bad and dishonourable peace. Considering the claims and grounds on which we went to war, I think

so. This is bad enough; but there are degrees in bad treaties of peace. He is to show that, by continuing the war indefinitely, the treaty is likely to be the better. His objections to peace are, 1st, American Independency;—2nd, Their connexion with France, and Spain, and Holland. If their disconnexion be the object, you must show that warring on them is the way to disconnect them, or that you can subdue them altogether.

Hope is the principle of activity; without holding out hope, to desire one to advance is absurd and senseless. Suppose, without a sous in my hand, one were to say, "exert yourself, for there is no hope,"—it would be to turn me into ridicule, and not to advise me. To hold out to me the hopelessness of my condition, never was a reason for exertion; for when, ultimately, equal evils attend upon exertion and rest, rest has clearly the preference. * * *

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A wise man always walks with his scale to measure, and his balances to weigh, in his hand. If he cannot have the best, he asks himself if he cannot have the next best. But if he comes to the point of graduation where all positive good ceases, he asks himself next, what is the least evil; and, on a view of the downward comparison, he considers and embraces that least evil as comparative good.

Upon this principle, if we were to make a peace directly with America, on terms of absolute independence, I am not called upon to assert that it would be good for us. I may admit it as a great evil, without any sort of prejudice to my argument; but I have no doubt to assert, that this evil to-day, would be far less than the same evil two years hence, when we may have wasted forty millions of money, and twenty thousand lives more in the struggle.

Now, if no hope is held out, or no other hope than that which is so blown, so faded, so worn out, that the mention of it is the greatest of all inducements to despair, then the option we make is this:—we choose the independence of America, aggravated with two years' charge, preferably to the same independence free from all this load of evil;—a preference never made by any people in their senses.

To say that if we carried the war out of their country they would fall upon us somewhere else, is to say that they are better calculated, by their situation, for an offensive than a defensive war; in direct contradiction to all that is known by so much melancholy experience of America, where their disposition, situation, and everything, so leads them to the defensive. But if you suppose them to invade you in England or the West Indies, do you then think that 80,000 men and

twenty millions of money would not better enable you to repel them than to subdue them?—an absurdity so gross, that I do not know how it ever entered into the head of man.

"But they would still aid France and Spain, and would not make peace upon gaining independency."—Let us examine this likewise.

What are you in war with France and Spain about? Why, about this very same independence of America. I would rather make peace with all these powers than bring America on your back; unless you say that, after the point is given up, you will still continue the war. If you do, (for I have now nothing to do with the policy of it, one way or the other,) do you think that the use of 50,000 men, and all the consequences, would not give you an advantage against them?

I ask now,—advanced in June,—the campaign of South Carolina being over, and that of the Northern to begin,—does he not know (because he has settled the plans of both) that Sir Henry Clinton is preparing a vigorous offensive campaign against General Washington? There is the *caput rerum*. If not, they are superior to you in every part of America, and the pillar of your hope is overthrown. If Clinton has not done his duty, is he to be continued by ministers for the pleasure of railing at him? He executes their plans, or he does not. * * * *

I thank my friend for giving us one more opportunity, before we depart, of considering this subject. By all the temperate forbearance of our forefathers in forming and maturing these colonies, that were the glory of humanity and the pride of the improved virtue and wisdom of the modern world,—by all the blood and treasure wasted in losing them,—by all our own errors,—by every feeling with which we mean to honour our nature when we call it humanity,—let us be content with all our former mistakes, and at length * * * * * * * * * * *

HINTS FOR A TREATY WITH AMERICA.

(Probably 1778 [1].)

THAT this empire, being unhappily at present divided into two adverse parts, it is the interest, and ought to be the wish, of both to re-unite.

That it is the permanent interest of both, to prevent either part, from weakness, or fear, or jealousy, or any other cause, from being ever dependent, more or less, upon France.

That the connexion between England and America is natural, from all the sources of connexion;—that of France with either, is not so.

[1] Lord North's bill for appointing Commissioners with powers to treat, &c. was brought into the House, Feb. 19, 1778.

It had been desirable that the original connexion should never have been interrupted; and that they had mutually respected, without having actually tried, each other's strength.

Each party feels the power of the other;—we, that America is not to be conquered;—they, that England is not a power to be provoked with impunity, and without bringing infinite calamities upon the country with which she is engaged.

The knowledge of our mutual power of serving and hurting each other, becomes a ground for a rational and permanent connexion.

That our old affections may be revived; and endeavours ought to be mutually used for that purpose.

That there are a great number, and among that number very considerable people, who have always had the most cordial regards for America; and, on that account, have suffered a total proscription from court, and no slight temporary unpopularity from the nation.

That these people, commonly called the Whigs, have ever been favourable to the universal freedom of the empire; and have desired the subordination of any part no further than has appeared to them necessary to that perfect union of the whole, which is, and has been, at all times, their first and dearest object.

If that union, now unhappily broken by mea-

sures in which these persons have not had the smallest share, can be restored by that party which they do and have opposed, forgetful of every other consideration, they will give them an honest support in any plans that may be mutually agreed upon between the ministry and the congress of America. This mode of treaty they conceive to be attended with one capital advantage; that the enemies of America are in power here, and have, therefore, the means of proposing such terms of accommodation as they can immediately execute.

But if America should be so irritated in the present instant, or so doubtful of a perfect security in future, from a reconcilement patched up on necessity, then they must look to some other people here, if they wish to make or preserve any terms with England.

On what footing, or on what concessions, the ministry mean to treat, is not known. Both the position and the terms on which the Whigs will treat, (if they should be found in a condition to treat at all,) are perfectly known,—at least in the principal lines.

First, they are not inclined, for the present, to controvert the independence of America, as a situation. She is *de facto* independent; and there is attendant on so great a misfortune one advantage, that she is in a posture in which she can

treat, and on which there is no dispute that her stipulations are perfectly obligatory. This is the publicly declared opinion of the Duke of P——, in the House of Lords, and of Mr. F. and Mr. B., in the House of Commons. But the Whigs wish to treat upon that footing,—not to continue a separation, but to re-produce a connexion suitable to the nature and circumstances of things.

Next, as to the terms. If many of us were to settle them, the negotiation would be very short. The terms would be just what America, no longer irritated, should think best for her own advantage; because we are very clear that such would not differ essentially from those which Great Britain, for her own sake, ought to desire.

But America, if she really wishes a re-union with England, must consult the credit of her friends in their own country. If they should make what is called a bad peace, they will be for ever disgraced, and will lose that authority which is necessary to preserve them as a strong bond of connexion between the two countries.

Therefore, it would be advisable that America should yield something to us; such as,—First, a recognition of the sovereignty of the king; for this country, being essentially monarchical, there is no other way of uniting its members but under the supremacy of the crown.—Secondly, some marked preference (which might be more than

returned) in trade, and as near as circumstances can permit to the act of navigation (this act is much the favourite of the people here, and would not be so disadvantageous to America as it is commonly thought); but this would admit of many temperaments.—Thirdly, some sort of contingent of men, ships, money, &c., in case of foreign wars; this would reconcile the minds of people here to the pacification.

Perfect satisfaction would be given, as to any or all the acts of parliament, whether enacting or declaratory. At present they are suspended, and the authority of the crown and parliament suffers a sort of discontinuance; so that what is to be done with regard to the objects of these acts, must arise rather from the new treaty than from the obligation of the ancient laws. The business of taxation would not admit the least dispute. An amicable spirit would soon settle every thing.

In a word, this is the spirit in which the body of the Whigs would treat. But if any others can treat in a more acceptable manner, they have their best wishes; being far more anxious for this union at any rate, than for any personal or party advantage.

NOTES FOR SPEECH,—CONTRACTORS' BILL [1].

THE point on which the nation is now at issue with the noble lord, is corrupt influence.

The question is, whether a contract is influence, and whether it is an influence apt to corrupt; that is, apt to lead the mind of the member who has it, to an obedience to him that gives it?

The principle of not suffering too great a dependence on the crown, of the members of this House, is the principle of this motion.

The questions are,—whether that principle of policy is constitutional?—whether it be justified by the practice of our ancestors?—and whether it is properly applied in the present case?

Not to suffer new places to come into parliament, and to be multiplied *ad infinitum* with an indefinite value. One contract may be worth all the places in this House.

As to merchants, the question has nothing to do with them. Two observations concerning them:—1st, Never, on any matter of trade, law, theology, politics, are they diligent in attendance;

[1] These notes were probably made with reference to Sir P. Jennings Clerk's bill, in 1778, for depriving Contractors of seats in the House of Commons. Vide note, vol. ii. p. 213.

2nd, not one merchant voting with ministry without a contract; which shows why they come here.

Contracts are not professional. If Mr. Harley would not take a contract from this side of the House if in power, it is plain he thinks a contract an object of favour and an obligation;—a matter of connexion with the government that gives it, or he would receive it equally from any man. He is a banker; would he refuse cash from the most violent Whig in the kingdom? He is a wine-merchant; would he refuse to sell a hogshead of wine, though he were sure it was all to be squandered in drinking the memories of Walpole, Pelham, and Townshend, and others more obnoxious? Why? because his trade has no connexion with his politics; his contract has.

Take it in another view. One of his contracts is a clothes' contract. If I took him a bill to discount, he never would enter into the politics of the drawer or the indorser; but if any one that sits near me sent to him for a certain number of livery-suits, he would turn away the messenger who was come to laugh at him. All this would be right; for what man, who had a suit to make, ever dreamed of sending for a wine-merchant? Did any colonel, who wanted to clothe his regiment, ever think of sending to his banker? Did any man, who wanted a complete set of new

liveries, ever think of applying to the privy-counsellor?

Merchants have no more experience or knowledge, out of the line of their particular trades, than other men; and sometimes they have less. Suppose I got—suppose the Lord-advocate got a contract for oat-meal for the navy, and the Attorney-general, for biscuits;—suppose one contracted for beer, and the other for beef, though neither of them * * * * It is plainly out of their line.

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DIALOGUE BETWEEN A CONTRACTOR AND A CITIZEN.

A FRAGMENT.

Citizen. Well, if it is so, I must have patience; I am afraid there is no hope.

Contractor. As sure as you live, the king is his own minister, and, therefore, all your complaints are ridiculous. Had you not better be one among us? Unanimity is the word. You do not mean to make a revolution? You would not bring in the Pretender, would you?

Cit. No; not that.

Con. Why, then, what would you do?

Cit. I can tell much more easily what I feel, than what I am to do. I will think of that when I see my way a little more clearly. I don't like this story of the king's being his own minister, and am not inclined to believe a word of it. If he be, one thing I am quite certain of,—he is the worst minister, as he is the best king, in the world. Nothing turns out right in his hands. I rather think that a pack of wretches are got about him, who delude and deceive him for their own vile purposes. These we can turn out, if incapable; punish, if guilty. His public assertion was not publicly denied, nor privately, that ever I heard of; and it tallies exactly with the declaration of Charles the First, when his Parliament used to accuse his evil advisers and malignant persons about him; his answer always was, that the things complained of were solely his own. He was so far from denying it, that he used to express very great indignation and resentment at their continuing to charge his counsellors, after his frequent and solemn exculpations of them. Lord Clarendon (and he is above all exception) is my voucher for this. By this means he forced himself into the responsible situation. You know the consequences. Charles the Second trod in his steps. Sir William Temple is as explicit as Lord Clarendon, and much more minute and satisfactory.

You will see how much merely nominal a thing his ministry was, during the far greater part of his reign.

Con. Yet you see he got the better of all his opposers, and of all his sets of ministers too; who in their turn, from his instruments, became opposers. He was an easy, good-natured man, and bore faction as long as faction could be borne. He bore it till patience came to require a greater exertion than resistance. His sloth was then conquered. Then he roused himself, and the course he took was manly. He brought things to a plain issue, and drove the nation to this simple and distinct alternative,—either to bear his measures, or to risk the miseries of a civil war in the kingdom. From that moment they made the choice. He, besides, threw himself on the old party of the church and monarchy, which was sure ground. It was his folly ever to depart from it. He called upon the tories, and they carried him through nobly.

Cit. You think that example a good one?

Con. I do, as far as success proves a measure to be right; and I think I am as well founded in quoting the successful example of Charles the Second as you can be in urging the ill-success of king James.

Cit. The Pretender is a foolish business. The

fault of that family is obstinacy. They do not mend by domestic examples. Charles the First lost his head by his obstinacy. The loss of Charles the First's head was no lesson to Charles the Second. It taught him dissimulation, not amendment. It taught king James neither amendment nor dissimulation. His obstinacy was his ruin, and it had like to have been ours, but that God and king William preserved us. My grand-father told me, that the grand-father of this Pretender lost his crown by being his own minister. You may have seen the Earl of Sunderland's apology for himself. He said that he had king James's positive order for every thing he did.

Con. Observe, my friend:—that king Charles did succeed, is what you cannot deny. On my part, I agree that if king James, in his scheme of being his own minister, had followed exactly the plan of Charles the Second, his ill-success would have been as decisive against it.

Cit. But I cannot allow it. King Charles did not live long enough to make a fair experiment in his single person. The very same scheme was continued to its maturity, and it failed in his successor; that is, it failed at its time,—it could not before. Great national evils are not understood, much less cured, at once. The whole space of time, from the decisive step you speak of with so

much applause, to the revolution, was not above seven or eight years.

Con. And long enough, of conscience. A person eight years in possession of all the powers and influence of government, who can carry a point of this kind for eighteen years, and if for eighteen, for ever, is unworthy of his situation. But you are not quite fair with me, my good friend. Observe, that you do not deny, that so far as Charles was concerned he succeeded. I was very ready to own, that if king James, in his scheme of being his own minister (contrary, as you say, to the principles of the constitution), had followed exactly the plan of Charles the Second, the failure, in his hands, would have proved as much against the wisdom of the plan, as if his brother had been deposed in his own person. But he departed from it essentially, with regard both to measures and parties. Like a bigot as he was, he brought religion into the question, on which he quarrelled with the Tories and high churchmen, and that was his ruin. Had he stuck to them, they would have stuck to him; and they never would have quarrelled about popular privileges, which had been as much attacked in the preceding reign as in his. A party for royalty, by principle, would have proved a poor check upon a prince who endeavoured to exalt that very power, which it

was their point of honour and conscience to support.

Cit. Not perfectly conclusive, I confess. There is a great deal of guess-work in all politics. But you misconceive the drift of my observations. I did not bring them to prove that such an unconstitutional scheme is impracticable; but that, taking it for granted that it is very undesirable, (for the people at least,) I do not, in any of my distresses, think of resorting to the Pretender. That gentleman, I am persuaded, inherits the principles of his family, though he inherits nothing else. Read Bolingbroke's account of his transactions with his father. Though without dominions, he would still be minister, defied all rational counsel, and persevered to the last in keeping his own way of thinking; though by it he disgusted even those miserable refugees who had, apparently, no resource but the revival of his cause. Bolingbroke and Ormond were obliged to quit him, and all but a few Scotch and Irish as senseless as himself; and the present Pretender, to prove his legitimacy, is noted for the same obstinacy. Therefore, my good sir, it is indifferent to me, whether the scheme of the Stuarts was practicable for any length of time, or could be pursued with safety to the prince or not. You say it prevailed under Charles the Second. It did indeed, to the disgrace, and very nearly to the ruin, of this

country. If being reduced to a servile dependence on France could have been a matter of shame to a prince who had no taste for glory, of conscience to one who had no religion, or of fear to one who never looked beyond to-morrow,—his plan of government evidently subjected him to that dependence. The fact is, he knew it; but, with his eyes broad open, he preferred a dependence on a foreign power, to a reliance on the affections of his people. His vitiated taste led him to believe that a pension was more honourable than a grant; and it was a known saying of his, that it was better to depend on a generous monarch, than on a turbulent and factious assembly of mean persons. Therefore, he lost the confidence of all his people, who held high that power of popular grant of money. He was not half a king at home; and, abroad, his fear of a great part of his own people, and his contests with them, made him to give the alarming growth of the French naval power no sort of check; until it became so very formidable, that when, in the reign of king William, it was resisted, the English navy proved weaker than that of the enemy, which chased the fleet of Great Britain into port (it was not, indeed, so long and so diversified a chase as we have since seen); and it was only by the assistance and cordial co-operation of Holland, that it was able to meet the enemy's fleet, and to attain that supe-

riority which, for nearly a century, extinguished the naval power of France. Had Charles been compelled to make use of his fleet, it must have fallen a sacrifice to that of Lewis the Fourteenth; for he had alienated Holland, insulted her, and broken all connexion with that useful ally. Indeed, his conduct was such, that, though he had been courted to take the balance of power into his hands, yet he was at length left without an ally in the world; for I look upon it as a certain thing, that when it is known that the king of Britain is his own minister, no power in Europe will have any connexion with him.

Con. This neglect of the navy was singular in Charles the Second, because he valued himself as a connoisseur in ship-building, frequently visited the dock-yards, and a naval review was one of his favourite amusements.

Cit. It was his amusement;—rather expensive, however, for an amusement;—but it was no more; for his navy was not superior to that of Holland, and it was so inferior to that of France, that he was unable to resist it. But he concealed the growth of the French naval power with all industry, for fear it should disturb him in his favourite designs; and if any one stated the dreadful progress of the enemy, he had him represented as a disaffected person, and a pensioner of France; and in this way his hirelings represented Algernon

Sidney, and Russell,—the glories of this nation; while he himself was, though not then known, a pensioner; and, by his acquiescence in the growth of the marine of France, earned his pension honestly.

LAW OF DEBTOR AND CREDITOR.

SIR GEORGE SAVILE TO EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

No date, probably 1780.

DEAR SIR,

Pray tell me how the inclosed suits your taste.

Will you be so good likewise to spend this week in devising sundry clauses and provisions, establishing the separation and distinction we seemed to agree in, between the criminal and civil parts of a debtor's case.

1. Every honest man will pay his debts if he can.

2. What an honest man should do, the law may compel him to do if it pleases.

3. But it should not give his body, either on the idea of recompence for the debt, nor as a revenge for the creditors, nor as a torture to force his payment, or screw it out of the compassion of his friends or the public.

N.B. In that case whipping, or pinching with

hot irons in the public street, at the discretion of the creditor, would be preferable, and excite more compassion than imprisonment, and the public would not lose its property in his labour.

4. When we have pursued the means of getting the creditor his demand as far as is right, the criminal question arises.

5. No criminal inquiry—no punishment.

6. I am assured that nine debtors are guilty to one innocent. But I answer that the law will rather have ten guilty escape, than one innocent suffer.

7. Therefore they must not all be driven on a heap into prison together.

8. Nevertheless a roguish debtor is one of the first-rate offenders.

9. A careless debtor, guilty of such extravagance after borrowing, as would be folly if it were his own money, is guilty of a crime, and is a second-rate offender.

10. Both of them crimes very necessary to be prevented by punishment.

11. The presumption I allow to be so far against the debtor, that a good share of proof should lie on him, (by his books, neighbours, character, &c. &c.) to prove he did not game, he did not drink, he was not idle, &c. &c.,—nay, that he did not venture in trade rashly.

The above heads may perhaps suffice for the present.

Dear sir,

Very much yours,

G. SAVILE.

CHARACTER OF LORD JOHN CAVENDISH [3].

IF any one were to ask, abroad, who were the men now living upon whom this nation valued itself, and whom we were to hold out as the specimens of what this country could produce, to give one an idea of its virtue, every man would certainly name Lord John Cavendish as the first. He is a man who would have adorned the best of commonwealths at the brightest of its periods. An accomplished scholar, and an excellent critic, in every part of polite literature, thoroughly acquainted with his-

[3] This paper, entitled, "*Character of Lord John Cavendish*," is followed by another in the form of a letter to Lord John; but whether it was intended for transmission or not is exceedingly doubtful. The form of a letter may have been that which Burke adopted for putting on paper his opinion of the merits of a friend, for whom he had the highest respect and regard. Imperfect as these fragments are, it would have been unjust to the memory of Lord John Cavendish to have withheld them from the public eye.

tory, ancient and modern; with a sound judgment; a memory singularly retentive and exact, perfectly conversant in business, and particularly in that of finance; of great integrity, great tenderness and sensibility of heart, with friendships few, but unalterable; of perfect disinterestedness; the ancient English reserve and simplicity of manner. He is a true Cavendish. The only fault is, that, perhaps, the singular modesty and moderation of his nature does not always give that energy and lustre to his virtues which are necessary to give them their full effect and to captivate the populace. He avoids ostentation to a fault, and is more afraid of setting himself off than other statesmen are studious of putting themselves forward. Once a lord of the treasury, and twice chancellor of the exchequer, which he accepted with reluctance, and gave up with joy, he did his official duty with astonishing diligence and firmness,—diligence rare in such a case!

FROM THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO LORD JOHN CAVENDISH.

My Lord,

I address my thoughts, upon a subject which has long engaged my mind and deeply affected it, to

your lordship, because I know you. I am sure that if I have conceived an esteem for your character, it is not because I have seen it at a distance. I have seen you placed, after long meditation, singly, in a chosen light, with spikes between you and the crowd, enlarged by the deceptions of art above the human form, and painted out for theatrical show and vulgar admiration. I have walked all round you, and have seen you at all hours, and in all humours; and I, who have brought my mind to so exclusive a veneration for the Divine perfections, that I have no admiration left for those of men, beyond my understanding of them, am yet very willing to honour virtue, so far as I am able to recognize and comprehend it. I should be ashamed to look for it in statues and on shelves, and to neglect it in life; but if I see the same great qualities in John or Charles, I trust that I am disposed to give them as much credit, and to love them full as well, as when I read of them in a Cato or a Timoleon. The heart is pinched up and contracted by the very studies which ought to have enlarged it,—if we keep all our praise for the triumphant and glorified virtues, and all our uneasy suspicions, and doubts, and criticisms, and exceptions, for the companions of our warfare. A mind that is tempered as it ought, or aims to come to the temper it ought to have, will measure out its just proportion of

confidence and esteem for a man of invariable rectitude of principle, steadiness in friendship, moderation in temper, and a perfect freedom from all ambition, duplicity, and revenge; though the owner of these inestimable qualities is seen in the tavern and on the pavement, as well as in the senate, or appearing with more decency than solemnity even there. He will put his confidence in them, though they should appear in a figure not lofty, nor much imposing, and though his address should at first be cold, dry, and reserved, and without any thing at all of advance or courtship in it. Far from taking away its value, everything which makes virtue accessible, simple, familiar, and companionable, makes its use more frequent, and its reality a great deal less doubtful. Neither, I apprehend, is the value of great qualities taken away, by the defects or errors that are most nearly related to them. Simplicity, and a want of ambition, do something detract from the splendour of great qualities; and men of moderation will sometimes be defective in vigour. Minds (and these are the best minds) which are more fearful of reproach than desirous of glory, will want that extemporaneous promptitude, and that decisive stroke, which are often so absolutely necessary in great affairs; and I have often thought that it is one of the main advantages of the social endeavours

of public men, acting by joint principle, consent, and counsel, that they produce opposite virtues and faults,—whilst they honestly stick together, and bear one another's burdens, as men and Christians ought,—and temper one another, and make an excellent whole out of defective parts. The individual is, to be sure, the less perfect for this; and those who love to whine over human infirmity rather than to relieve it, will think it a subject of great lamentation;—yet many a thing which, single, is mischievous, in arrangement is useful. Set this man with another, and his very defect will be of service. You know my opinion upon insulated morality and politics;—it is fit that our social condition should be thus combined. The world will operate differently according to our temper. Almost every body, in the sanguine season of youth, looks in the world for more perfection than he is likely to find. But a good-tempered man,—that is to say, a man of a wise constitution, will be pleased, in the midst of his disappointment, to find, that, if the virtues of men are below his wish and calculation, their faults have beneficial effects; whereas the ill-tempered man grows peevish at finding, what he will as certainly find, the ill-consequence attending the most undoubted virtues. I believe we shall do everything something the

better, for putting ourselves in as good a humour as possible when we set about it [4].

ENCLOSURES FROM RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE [5].

Copy of the Address from the French Noblesse at Brussells.

MM. Le Duc d'Uzès, le Duc de Villequiers, le Marquis de la Queuille, le Vicomte d'Hautefeuille, le Président de Robieu, le Baron de Cendreville, — Commissionaires de la Noblesse Françoise; nommés par les frères du Roy pour la partie de la noblesse qui réside à Bruxelles, sont venus pour avoir l'honneur de voir Monsieur Burke; ils saisissent avec empressement l'occasion de rendre hommage aux vertus et aux talents de son illustre père, et lui témoigner l'admiration et la reconnoissance que son ouvrage a inspiré à tous les François sincèrement attachés à leur religion, à leur roy, et aux loix du royaume.

À Bruxelles, le 7 Août, 1791.

[4] Endorsed on the back, in Mr. Burke's handwriting, "*To Lord John Cavendish.*" There is no date, but it was probably written at the time of the retirement of Lord John Cavendish from public life.

[5] Referred to by a note, vol. iii. page 242.

Copy of the Answer to the preceding Address.

GENTLEMEN,

I shall immediately communicate to my father the honour you have conferred upon him. That testimony of coinciding sentiments which you are pleased to call the expression of your gratitude, cannot fail to go to the bottom of his heart. It is a matter of no inconsiderable pride to him, that those principles upon which the circumstances of the time made him presume to assert the common cause of all gentlemen, should not be disavowed by a body in whom the sense of true honour has been the distinguishing character for so many ages. This testimonial will be preserved in his family, and descend as an hereditary honour. I consider it as the genuine voice of the kingdom of France; for, as you well know, it is not the geographical situation which makes a country; but wherever the spirit and virtue of the nation resides, there the country is. We learn what sort of men have taken possession of France, when we behold those whom they have driven out of it. By a providential re-action of evil, the dispersion of the French nobility has become the most signal refutation of all the calumnies invented to discredit the very principle of honour. This is not

all. You have redeemed the character of the French nation in the eyes of all Europe. The states of which it is composed, see in you a hope of recovering their lost companion. A principle is not wanting which may once more cement that great communion of the civilized world which has been broken by the apostasy of France. For, gentlemen, your sentiments, character, and manners, are a pledge to all mankind, that your restoration to your patrimonial possessions, and to that inheritance of public estimation in which you constituted the strength and pride of your country, will also be the restoration of those principles of religion and of justice, which form the only foundation of civil society and of national intercourse.

FROM THE COMTE D'ARTOIS TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE[6].

Rotterdam, ce 22 Aoust, 1794.

MONSIEUR,

Je viens d'apprendre, avec une sensible peine, la perte cruelle que vous avez faite. Non seulement

[6] An enclosure in the letter of the Comte de Sérent, dated September 1, 1794; referred to by a note on page 233 of this volume.

je partage votre juste douleur, mais je réunis à vous, et à tous les âmes vertueuses, pour regretter un homme qui par ses qualités, et sa parfaite loyauté, aurait pu être si utile à sa station, et à la cause qui intéresse l'humanité entière.

Je ne vous parlerai point aujourd'hui, monsieur, des affaires générales; cette lettre est uniquement consacrée à vous exprimer les sentiments douloureux, dont la mort de M. votre fils affectent mon cœur. Cependant je compte tout sur votre intérêt pour moi, qu'en chargeant le Comte de Sérent de vous remettre ma lettre, je lui prescris en même tems de vous informer de ma position actuelle, de ma constance inébranlable, et de ma confiance sans réserve dans les sentiments, les principes, et l'énergie du ministère Britannique.

Comptez à jamais, monsieur, sur ma parfaite estime, sur ma considération pour vous, et sur tous les sentiments de reconnoissance que je me plais à vous devoir.

CHARLES PHILIPPE.

M. EDMUND BURKE.

TWELVE RESOLUTIONS RELATIVE TO THE RECENT NEGOTIATIONS WITH FRANCE, 1797 [1].

1st. *Resolved,*

That at the opening of Parliament on the 21st of January, 1794, his Majesty having communicated to both his Houses of Parliament a public Declaration, bearing date from Whitehall on the 29th of October, 1793, wherein he set forth to all Europe the views and principles by which he was guided in the present war, was further graciously pleased to recommend from the throne, and this House did in consequence assure his Majesty, that, in all our deliberations, we would never lose sight of the true grounds and origin of the war; and in relation thereto, this House did then proceed to declare, that we have been called upon by every motive of duty and self-preservation to repel an attack made upon his Majesty and his allies, founded upon principles which tend to destroy all

[1] The original of this paper is not in the hand-writing of Mr. Burke, but as some of the corrections are so, there can be little doubt of its expressing the views which he entertained of the then state of European affairs, (beginning of 1797,) and more especially of the recent mission of Lord Malmesbury to Paris. It does not appear that the resolutions were ever moved in either House of Parliament.

property, to subvert the laws and religion of every civilized nation, and to introduce universally that wild and destructive system of rapine, anarchy, and impiety, the effects of which, as they have already been manifested in France, furnish a dreadful lesson to the present age and to posterity.

2nd. *Resolved,*

That by an amendment moved and negatived in this House on the 30th of December last, a charge of rashness and of injustice, with regard to the commencement of the present war, having been brought against his Majesty's government, and, through that government, against his Majesty's late Parliament and the people of Great Britain, this House feeling it to be their duty at all times when, in a new Parliament, such a charge shall be brought against the honour and justice of this nation, to make serious inquiry into the truth of the same, and especially remembering the solemn pledge given to his Majesty by this House in the late Parliament, "That, in all our deliberations, we can never lose sight of the true grounds and origin of the war," has taken the aforesaid charge into consideration; and this House is of opinion, that the grounds and origin of the war, as a just and necessary war of self-defence, as well as the principles on which the aggression of the enemy

was founded, are truly set forth in the above-mentioned address to his Majesty, on the 21st of January, 1794, and this House does hereby re-affirm the same.

3rd. *Resolved,*

That in his Majesty's public declaration of the 29th October, 1793, the king, under the circumstances there stated, demanded from France, "That some legitimate and stable government should be established, founded on the acknowledged principles of universal justice, and capable of maintaining with other powers the accustomed relations of union and peace."

4th. *Resolved,*

That at the opening of the session of Parliament on the 29th October, 1795, his Majesty informed this house, "That the distraction and anarchy which has so long prevailed in France, had led to a crisis, of which it was then impossible to foresee the issue, but which must, in all human probability, produce consequences highly important to the interests of Europe;" and his Majesty further added, "That should this crisis terminate in any order of things compatible with the tranquillity of other countries, and affording a reasonable expectation of security and permanence in any treaty which might be concluded, the appear-

ance of a disposition to negotiate for general peace, on just and suitable terms, would not fail to be met, on his part, with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect;" and on the 8th of December following, his Majesty, by message, acquainted this house, "That such crisis had terminated in an order of things which would induce him so to meet any disposition for negotiation on the part of the enemy."

5th. *Resolved,*

That no disposition whatever for negotiation having been shown by the enemy, Mr. Wickham, his Majesty's plenipotentiary to the Swiss Cantons, was authorized to inquire of Monsieur Barthelemi, ambassador from the French republic at Bâsle,—and upon the 8th March, 1796, (while an armistice was subsisting between the French and imperial forces on the Rhine,) did accordingly inquire,—"whether there was a disposition in France to open a negotiation for the re-establishment of a general peace upon just and suitable terms, by sending, for that purpose, ministers to a congress; whether there would be the disposition to communicate to Mr. Wickham the general grounds of a pacification such as France would be willing to propose, or whether there would be a desire to propose any other way whatever for arriving at the same end." That on the 26th of the same

month an answer was returned by Mr. Barthelemi. That such answer was both haughty and evasive. That the mode of negotiation offered by his Majesty was therein peremptorily rejected. That it stated no other in which his enemies were willing to concur. That at the same time it asserted a principle under which "the terms of peace must have been regulated, not by the usual consideration of justice, policy, and reciprocal commerce, but by an implicit submission, on the part of all other powers, to a claim founded on the internal laws, and separate constitution of France; as having full authority to supersede the treaties entered into by independent states, to govern their interests, to control their engagements, and to dispose of their dominions:" and that his Majesty's ministers showed a proper and laudable concern for the true honour of the British name, in declaring, (as they did, in an official note, dated from Downing-street, on the 10th of April following,) "that such answer left nothing for the king but to prosecute a war equally just and necessary."

6th. *Resolved,*

That on the 6th September, 1796, his Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs availed himself of the confidential intervention of the Danish ambassador at this court, and of the Danish

minister at Paris, to demand passports from the executive directory for a British envoy. That to this written application, the Danish minister, after waiting three days, obtained only a verbal answer, prohibiting in future any mediation of any neutral power, but offering passports to any British plenipotentiary who should demand them in person on the frontiers. That the said Danish minister, judging, as well from the tone and manner of the French minister as from the purport of such verbal answer, did consider what he was charged to communicate as an immediate refusal of the application which had been made by the British court; and with a wish, for the sake of humanity, that he might meet with better success at some future period, he did express his fear that this period was still at a great distance.

And this House is of opinion, that the manner in which such intervention was received by the executive directory, "indicated the most hostile disposition towards Great Britain, and at the same time afforded to all Europe a striking instance of that injurious and offensive conduct which is observed on the part of the French government towards all other countries."

7th. *Resolved*,

That, notwithstanding the discouraging style of the aforesaid verbal answer, his Majesty's ministers,

on the 24th of September, renewed immediately to the executive directory the demand before made for the necessary passports. That such passports having been granted on the express condition that the British envoy should be furnished with full powers both for negotiating and definitively concluding peace, Lord Malmesbury, on the part of his Majesty, arrived at Paris on the 22nd October. That the executive directory having, the next day, given to Monsieur de la Croix, the French minister for foreign affairs, the necessary powers for concluding peace, but limiting him in the negotiation of it, to conform himself to the instructions to be given him, and to report what passed from time to time thereupon, his Majesty's plenipotentiary lost no time in presenting a memorial, in which he proposed to negotiate on the footing "of making compensation to France by proportionable restitutions for those arrangements to which she would be called upon to consent, in order to satisfy the just demands of the king's allies and to preserve the political balance of Europe."—But it was not until the 27th November, after various criminations of his Majesty and of his ally, the Emperor, and other objections of a dilatory nature, that his Majesty's plenipotentiary received from the executive directory a formal and positive acknowledgment of the proposed principle, accompanied by an invitation to him to designate, with-

out the least delay, and expressly, the objects of reciprocal compensation which he had to propose.

That Lord Malmesbury having, accordingly, on the 17th December, presented two memorials, containing the outlines of the terms of peace, and having declared, both verbally and in writing, his readiness to enter, with a spirit of conciliation and fairness, into a discussion of the same, or of any counter-project of the executive directory, he was the next day required to sign the confidential memorials, contrary to the known established rules of diplomatic proceedings, and to deliver his ultimatum within twenty-four hours. That Lord Malmesbury, having signed the memorials, but declined to give such ultimatum, and having repeated his offers to enter upon the discussion in the most amicable manner, did on the same day receive a note from Monsieur de la Croix, announcing that the executive directory "would listen to no proposals contrary to the constitution, to the laws, and to the treaties which bind the republic,"—as well as requiring his Majesty's plenipotentiary to depart from Paris in eight-and-forty hours. And it further appears to this House, that on the evening of the 16th December, the very same evening when Lord Malmesbury requested a conference with Monsieur de la Croix, for the purpose of presenting his specific propositions relative to the terms of peace, a

fleet, and troops on board, sailed from the port of Brest, to invade his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland.

8th. *Resolved,*

That this House is of opinion, that the hostile disposition of the French government towards the whole system of policy on which the general state of Europe has hitherto stood, and more especially towards the honour, interests, and the very independence of this country, strongly appeared in the several preliminary discussions relative to Lord Malmesbury's mission; in the "difference of the credentials given to the French minister; in the repeated endeavours to break off the intercourse when opened, even before the first steps towards the negotiation could be taken; in the indecent and injurious language employed with a view to irritate; in the capricious and frivolous objections raised for the purpose of obstructing the progress of the discussion;" and in the various departures made, or demanded to be made, from the long-established rules and usages of diplomatic proceedings. That such hostile disposition was more clearly manifested in the demands of an ultimatum, made on the very outset of negotiation; and that it was proved, without all possibility of doubt, by the abrupt termination of the negotiation, accompanied with an obstinate adherence to a claim which was inconsistent with the principle of com-

pensation so recently "established by mutual consent, which had before been rejected by his Majesty, and which never can be admitted:"—"a claim that the construction which that government affected to put (though even in that respect unsupported by the fact) on the internal constitution of its own country, should be received by all other nations as paramount to every known principle of public law in Europe, as superior to the obligations of treaties, to the ties of common interests, and to the most pressing and urgent considerations of general security."

9th. *Resolved*,

That, judging, as this House can only judge, from the declarations and conduct of the actual government of France towards this country, more especially on occasion of the different overtures made by his Majesty for the purpose of effecting a general pacification, as also from the principles and designs which that government has manifested in their intercourse with all the neutral powers, and above all with the United States of America, in various instances notorious to Europe and the world, this House has not yet received any sufficient assurance, that there does at present exist in France a government "founded," as his Majesty among other things demanded, "on the acknowledged principles of universal justice;" or that there

is, at present, an order of things established there, such as his Majesty was induced, by his own benevolent dispositions, to hope, "compatible with the tranquillity of other countries, and affording a reasonable expectation of security and permanence in any treaty which may be concluded."

10th. *Resolved,*

That the alliance of the princes or states possessing the Netherlands, and other adjoining countries on this side of the Rhine (all which dominions the extravagant pretensions advanced and insisted upon by the actual government of France, would, as a preliminary to any discussion, annex for ever to the French territory), has been uniformly and invariably considered by this House, from the date of the earliest records of Parliament, down to the present time, as an alliance which it is, in all cases, the duty and interest of the English nation to cultivate and strengthen in opposition to France; that it has been repeatedly acknowledged by his Majesty's ancestors, and this House, to be of the highest importance to the prosperity and safety of our commerce and of our power, as well as the best security to the general liberties of Europe; and that, accordingly, it has been ever sought and maintained at a price far beyond that of any other alliance of the crown of these realms. That by the existing treaties, which this House has seen

and approved, between his Majesty and the Emperor of Germany, this nation has guaranteed the restitution of the Netherlands to the house of Austria, and that the courage and magnanimity with which the Emperor, in situations the most difficult and disastrous, has declared his fixed resolution of keeping inviolate his engagements with the crown of Great Britain, as well as the great and unprecedented exertions which he has made in the common cause, add a new obligation on this House and the British nation, not less sacred than the most solemn faith of treaties.

11th. *Resolved,*

That, with regard to the other objects of the late negotiation, this House has seen with pleasure the declaration of Lord Malmesbury in his first memorial, bearing date the 24th of October, 1796, that, "if his offers should not be accepted, or if the discussions which might ensue should fail to produce the desired effect, neither that first general proposition, nor those more detailed which might result from it, could be regarded, in any case, as points agreed upon or admitted by his Majesty."

12th. *Resolved,*

That, confident in the resources and spirit of the people of Great Britain, this House will sup-

port his Majesty, with zeal and perseverance, in the vigorous prosecution of a war which was begun, on the part of his Majesty and his allies, to repel a wanton and unprovoked aggression, founded on principles subversive of the whole political, civil, and religious system of Europe; which has only been continued because the same principles have never ceased to operate on the mind of the common enemy, and which, as it at present appears to this House, nothing but the increased and intolerable distress of that enemy can bring to a determination, wise, honourable, and safe, for his Majesty and his allies.

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